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Selections.

CONDITION OF THE REBEL STATES.

SPEECH OF CHARLES SUMNER

IN THE U. S. SENATE, DEC. 20, 1865.

On motion of Mr. Wilson, the Senate, in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (S. No. 9) to maintain the freedom of the inhabitants in the States declared in insurrection and rebellion by the proclamation of the President of the 1st July, 1862.

Mr. SUMNER.—When I think of what occurred yesterday in this Chamber; when I call to mind the attempt to whitewash the unhappy condition of the rebel States, and to throw the mantle of official oblivion over sickening and heart-rending outrages, where Human Rights are sacrificed and rebel Barbarism receives a new letter of license, I feel that I ought to speak of nothing else. I stood here years ago, in the days of Kansas, when a small community was surrendered to the machinations of slave-masters. I now stand here again, when alas! an immense region, with millions of people, has been surrendered to the machinations of slave-masters. Sir, it is the duty of Congress to arrest this fatal fury. Congress must dare to be brave. But I shall not be diverted from the question before the Senate, although, in unfolding the necessity of present legislation for the protection of the freedmen, I shall be led necessarily and logically to speak of the condition of the rebel States.

All must admit that the bill of my colleague is excellent in purpose. It proposes nothing less than to establish Equality before the Law, at least so far as civil rights are concerned, in the rebel States. This is done simply to carry out and maintain the Proclamation of Emancipation, by which this Republic is solemnly pledged to *maintain* the emancipated slave in his freedom. Such is our pledge; "and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and *maintain the freedom of such persons.*" This pledge is without any limitation in space or time. It is as extended and as immortal as the Republic itself. Does anybody call it vain words? I trust not. To that pledge we are solemnly bound. Wherever our flag floats, as long as time endures we must see that it is sacredly observed.

But the performance of that pledge cannot be intrusted to another; least of all, can it be intrusted to the old slave-masters, embittered against their slaves. It must be performed by the National Government. The power that gave freedom must see that this freedom is maintained. This is according to reason. It is also according to the examples of history. In the British West Indies we find this teaching. Three of England's greatest orators and statesmen, Burke, Canning, and Brougham, at successive periods united in delaring, from the experience in the British West Indies, that whatever the slave-masters undertook to do for their slaves was always "arrant trifling," and that, whatever might be its plausible form, it always wanted "the executive principle." More recently, the Emperor of Russia, when ordering emancipation, declared that all efforts of his predecessors in this direction had failed because they had been left to "the spontaneous initiative of the proprietors." I might say much more on this head, but this is enough. I assume that no such blunder will be made on our part; that we shall not leave to the old proprietors the maintenance of that freedom to which we are pledged, and thus break our own promises and sacrifice our race.

I have already alluded to Emancipation in Russia. But this example is worthy our deepest study, unless we purposely reject history. All know that in 1861 the Emperor, by solemn Proclamation, gave freedom to upward of twenty-three million serfs; but it is not generally known by what supplementary provisions this freedom was secured.

I have in my hands an official copy of this great act, published in St. Petersburg, by which it is declared that serfs, after an interval of two years, are "entirely enfranchised." Under this Proclamation, a new set of local magistrates was constituted, with "special court" and "justices of the peace" in each district, to superintend the working of the Proclamation and to examine on the spot all questions arising from Emancipation. This provision was not unlike our Bureau of Freedmen, which is thus vindicated by this example.

But the good work did not stop here. The Emperor did not leave the freedmen without protection, handed over to the tender mercies of their former owners. By a careful series of "regulations" accompanying the Proclamation, prepared with infinite care, and divided into chapters and sections, the rights of the freedmen are secured beyond question. I hold a copy of this remarkable document in my hand. Here it is, a model for our imitation.

These "regulations" begin with the formal declaration that the freedmen, by the act of Emancipation, "acquire the rights belonging to free farmers." The language is general. It is "the rights of free farmers," not in certain particulars, but in all particulars; not merely in exemption from the authority of their masters, but in complete enfranchisement. Surely, here is an example for us.

The "regulations" then proceed in formal words to fix and assure these rights civil and political. These rights are not left to inference or to future discussion; but they are positively declared with all possible detail.

By one section the freedman is secured in all his *rights of family and rights of contract*, as follows:

"The articles of the Civil Code on the rights and obligations of the family are extended to the freedmen; consequently they acquire the right, without the authorization of the proprietor, to contract marriage, and to make any arrangement whatever concerning their family affairs; they can equally enter into all agreements and obligations authorized by the laws, as well with the State as with individuals, on the conditions established for free farmers; they can inscribe themselves in the guilds, and exercise their trades in the villages; and they can found and conduct factories and establishments of commerce."

Surely here is an example for us.

By another section the freedman is secured in *rights of property*. He may acquire and alienate property of all kinds, according to the general law; and, besides, "the possession of the homestead" on which he has lived is guaranteed to him on certain conditions. Surely here is an example for us.

By another section the freedman is secured complete *Equality in the courts*, as follows:

"He shall have the right of action whether civilly or criminally, to commence process, and to answer personally or by attorney; to make complaint, and to defend his rights by all the means known to the law, *and to appear as witness and as bail conformably to the common law.*"

Mark these words. He may appear "as witness and as bail." Surely here is an example for us.

By other sections the freedman is secured *Equality in political rights*, according to the measure of such rights in Russia, thus:

"On the organization of the towns, he shall be entitled to take part in the meetings and elections for the towns, and to vote on town affairs, and to exercise divers functions; and he shall also take a part in the assemblies for the district, and shall vote on district affairs, and choose the chairman."

From all the provisions on this head, it appears that the freedman enjoys rights to choose the local officers, and to be chosen in turn. Surely here is an example for us.

By still another section the freedman is secured Equality *at schools and in Education*; thus:

"He may place his children in the establishments for public education, to embrace the career of instruction, or the scientific career, or to take service in the corps of surveyors."

Surely here again is an example for us.

Then, again, for the general protection of the freedman it is provided that he "cannot lose his rights or be restrained in their exercise, except after the judgment of the town according to fixed rules;" and still further, that he "cannot be subjected to any punishment, otherwise than by notice of a judgment, or according to the legal decision of the town to which he belongs." Surely here again is an example to us.

Thus does Russia, by careful provisions, supplementary to the act of Emancipation, secure her freedmen in all their rights; first, in the right of family and the right of contract; secondly, in the right of property, including a homestead; thirdly, in complete equality in the courts; fourthly, in Equality in political rights; fifthly in Equality at schools and in Education; and, finally, all these safeguards are crowned by declaring that they cannot lose their rights or be punished except after judgment according to fixed rules; thus completely fulfilling that requirement of our fathers, that "government should be a government of laws and not of men."

I trust that this example is none the less worthy of imitation because it is that of an empire, which is not supposed to sympathize with liberal ideas. Surely a republic cannot in this respect lag behind an empire. Besides, all that we hear shows that the experiment has been successful. Clearly, an experiment inspired so completely by the spirit of justice cannot fail.

My colleague is clearly right in introducing his bill and pressing it to a vote. The argument for it is irresistible. It is essential to complete Emancipation. Without it Emancipation will be only *half done*. It is our duty to see that it is wholly done. Slavery must be abolished not in form only, but in substance, so that there shall be no Black Code; but all shall be Equal before the Law.

As to the power of Congress over this question I cannot doubt it. My colleague assumes the power without professing to trace it to any particular source. It may be a military power precisely as the Proclamation of Emancipation, and here the authority is as clear and absolute as in the District of Columbia, or it may be in pursuance of the Constitutional Amendment, which provides that Congress may "enforce the amendment by appropriate legislation;" or it may be to carry out the guarantee of a republican form of government.

There are measures of my own, already introduced by me, now on your table, looking to the same result as the pending bill, which proceed specifically on the two latter grounds.

One of these is entitled "A bill supplying appropriate legislation to enforce the amendment of the Constitution." From this bill I read two sections:

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That in further enforcement of the provision of the Constitution prohibiting slavery, and in order to remove all relics of this wrong from the States where this constitutional prohibition takes effect, it is hereby declared that all laws or customs in such States establishing any oligarchical privileges and any distinction of rights on account of color or race are hereby annulled, and all persons in such States are recognized as equal before the law; and the penalties provided in the last section are hereby made applicable to any violation of this provision, which is made in pursuance of the Constitution of the United States.

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That in further enforcement of the provision of the Constitution aforesaid, the courts of the United States in the States aforesaid shall have exclusive jurisdiction of all offences committed by persons not of African descent upon persons of African descent; also of all offences committed by persons of African descent; and also of all causes, suits, and demands to which any person of African descent shall be a party; and it is hereby declared that all such cases are to be treated as cases arising under the Constitution of the United States.

This bill, of course, proceeds on the idea that the amendment is now a part of the Constitution to all intents and purposes. And who can doubt this conclusion? It has been already adopted by "the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States," in other words by three-fourths of the States having Legislatures. The States having no Legislatures at the time of its proposition by Congress are not to be counted. Of what value can be the enforced consent of the disloyal and barbarous bodies that have pretended to act for certain States at the dictation of military power? Military power may govern during the war, but it is impotent to make a republican State or to give assent to an amendment of the Constitution.

Another bill introduced by me, and now on the table, is founded on the guarantee clause. It is brief, and will explain itself:

A bill in part execution of the guarantee of a republican form of government in the Constitution of the United States.

Whereas it is declared in the Constitution that the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government; and whereas certain States have allowed their governments to be subverted by rebellion, so that the duty is now cast upon Congress of executing this guarantee; now, therefore.

Be it enacted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in all States lately declared to be in rebellion there shall be no oligarchy, invested with peculiar privileges and powers, and there shall be no denial of rights, civil or political, on account of color or race; but all persons shall be equal before the law, whether in the court-room or at the ballot-box. And this statute, made in pursuance of the Constitution, shall be the supreme law of the land, anything in the Constitution or laws of any such State to the contrary notwithstanding.

Both these bills are broader even than that of my colleague; for they point to the absolute obliteration of all legal discriminations founded on color, whether in the court-room or at the ballot-box, and to this conclusion we must come at last. But I confess that I feel the dignity, the grandeur, and the substantial value which would be found in a declaration of Congress that an oligarchical government, which denied rights to a whole race; which undertook to tax without representation; and which discarded the "consent of the governed" as its just foundation, cannot be a "republican form of government."

The most explicit, the most positive, the most mandatory words in the Constitution are, "the United States shall guarantee to every State in the Union a republican form of government." This great duty is thrown not upon any individual branch of the Government, but upon the United States. It is a duty to "guarantee"—which in itself is a strong term—what? A republican form of government. Now, by the lapse of State governments in the rebel States, this duty is cast upon the United States. But the United States are represented in Congress, or rather by an act of Congress, which in itself is the embodied will of both Houses of Congress, and of the President of the United States. Congress, must, therefore, determine, what is a republican form of government. Into this question I do not now enter. At the proper time I hope to consider it. I content myself now by saying that it is absurd to say that a community which is founded on oligarchical pretensions, and which excludes from all participation in the government any considerable proportion of its tax-paying citizens, and ignores the consent of the governed, can be considered a republican form of government. On this proposition I hope to be heard at an early day. Here is one of the greatest questions of our history.

And now, after this brief review of the object proposed to be accomplished, I am brought to consider the practical necessity of such legislation; and here it is my duty to expose the actual condition of the rebel States, especially as regards loyalty and the treatment of the freedmen. On this head I shall adduce evidence in my possession. In the endeavor to bring what I say within reasonable proportions, I shall adduce only a small part of what has passed under my eye; but it will be more than enough. In bringing it forward, the difficulty is of selection and abridgment.

I shall begin with something relating to the condition of the rebel States generally, and shall then proceed to consider the different States successively.

And now, first, as to the rebel States generally. I know no testimony which has found its way to the public, with regard to the general condition of the South, which will compare in value with a series of letters by A. Warren Kelsey, a cotton agent of character and intelligence above question, who has travelled through the rebel States. His communications with his employers show singular powers of observation, and are expressed with great clearness. Of course I can only give a few extracts.

"In travelling about as I have, from one section of the country to the other, I have been able to compare opinions, and, as you know, I have had peculiar and favorable opportunities for ascertaining the views they have in common. I have endeavored to trace the motives from which they have acted and which now animate them, and their *real* purpose for the future, if they have one. In giving you my opinion now, it is proper to say that I have taken no one individual as a criterion of the whole, and have judged them only by the opinions I find they are generally agreed upon; neither have I any one's statement for their thoughts and actions. My opinions, deductions, and conclusions are derived from my own experience and observation among them; and whether they shall be confirmed or denied by others, are, notwithstanding, my honest and sincere convictions."

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"While I am able to say that they have made up their minds that emancipation is a fact, and not to be avoided, I am obliged to state my earnest opinion that so far as secession is concerned, that is, the doctrine of State rights, it is more deeply rooted than ever among them. They are perfectly united in the belief that the division of this country is both right from a moral stand-point, and politic as a measure of expediency. They have simply changed their base from the battle-field to ballot-box, believing, as they very frankly admit, that greater triumphs await them there than they could ever hope for in the field. In almost every house hangs the old, worn Confederate uniform, which is displayed with pride and satisfaction to all comers. So far from repenting of the stand they took, they glory in it. They regret the result, and their non-success, it is true; but not one in a thousand will admit they were in the wrong."

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"They argue that at least ninety-five in every two hundred votes at the North are sure to be thrown in their favor, and they can now rule the Union by giving up, which is cheaper than to persist in their idea of a separate government. That idea, however, is only laid aside for a time. Every boy at the South is being educated in the belief that the relations the South to-day sustains toward the North, are the same as those of Hungary or Venetia toward Austria, or of Poland to Russia. They bide their time. They have adopted for their motto 'Patience, and shuffle the cards.' The snake, so far from being killed, is barely 'scotched.' Meantime, they deem it better to rule in the Union than to serve in the Confederate army.

"As to their affection for their military leaders, you will find proof in the elections at Richmond and in South Carolina. No man has a better claim to their sympathy, and none stand a better chance of election than those who were the last to give up. Motives of policy may induce them to nominate others, but the fact remains as I have stated. I repeat, that Gen. Lee and Wade Hampton are the two most popular and best-loved men in the South to-day. I have heard but one disparaging remark made of Gen. Lee since I was at the South, and that was in this connection: I was riding one night in a hack across the gap in a railway, made by Wilson, and, as usual, the conversation turned on political affairs and the condition and prospects of the Southern people. One man said that Gen. Lee stood the best chance for the next Presidency (by the way, that is a very prevalent idea here at the South), when another remarked that he would rather have Andrew Johnson. I was curious to know why, and inquired. He replied that 'he had but little confidence in Lee since he favored negro soldiers, and in his opinion he was not much better than a Black Republican.'

"At present every one at the South is occupied in his personal and family interests. There are no political parties; very little coherence of opinion as to the policy best to be pursued. But I find among the knowing ones, particularly those who have been on to the North and remained some time in New York or Washington, a sanguine belief that they can easily resume the reins of office, and these men are the only Unionists in the South to-day. You can depend upon it that the Southern States in the future will present one solid, unanimous front. Their leaders have them well *in hand; and this is precisely what ninety-nine in* every hundred of the men, women, and children believe sincerely as to the situation to-day; first, that the South of right possesses and always possessed the right of secession; secondly, that the war only proved that the North was the strongest; thirdly, that negro slavery was and is right, but has been abolished by the war. The Southerners are too smart not to see that slavery is dead, but many of them hope as long as the black race exists here to be able to hold it in a condition of practical serfdom. All expect the negro will be killed in one way or another by emancipation. The policy of those who will eventually become the leaders here at the South, is, for the present, to accept the best they can get, to acquiesce in anything and everything, but to strain every nerve to regain the political power and ascendency they held under Buchanan. This they believe cannot be postponed longer than up to the next Presidential election. They will do all in their power to resist negro suffrage, and to reduce taxation and expenditures, and would attack the national debt if they saw any reason to believe repudiation possible. They will continue to assert the inferiority of the African, and they would to-day, if possible, precipitate the United States into a foreign war, believing they could then reassert and obtain their independence. They will, most of them, take any oaths you may cause to be adopted, and break them immediately, and without scruple. In one word, this people have placed themselves in resolute antagonism to the North, and *this* generation, at least, will always hate the Northern people, while the boys are being educated to the same idea."

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"On the whole, looking at the affair from all sides, it amounts to just this; if the Northern people are content to be ruled over by the Southerners they will continue in the Union; if not, the first chance they get they will rise again. I venture the prediction that within five years they will either be in power, or will be fighting us again. If the first, God help New England!"

Other testimony is in harmony. For instance, a trustworthy traveller who has recently traversed the Gulf States, thus writes in a private letter to myself:

"The former masters exhibit a most cruel, remorseless, and vindictive spirit toward the colored people. In parts where there are no Union soldiers, I saw colored women treated in the most outrageous manner. They have no rights that are respected. They are killed, and their bodies thrown into ponds or mudholes. They are mutilated by having ears and noses cut off."

Of course such a people already talk of repudiating the national debt. To the question, "Would it be safe to trust white men at the South with the power to repudiate the national debt?" a person in grey uniform at once replied, "Repudiate! I should hope they would. I'm whipped, and I'll own it; but I'm not so fond of a whipping that I'm going to pay a man's expenses while he gives it to me. Of course there are not ten men in the whole South that wouldn't repudiate!" Such is the spirit of these States. But a candidate for Congress in Virginia undertook to speak for the rebel States, as follows:

"I am opposed to the Southern States being taxed at all for the redemption of this debt, either directly or indirectly; and, if elected to Congress, I will oppose all such measures, and I *will vote to repeal all laws that have hitherto been passed for that purpose*; and in doing so, I do not consider that I violate any obligations to which the South was a party. *We have never plighted our faith for the redemption of the war debt.* The people will be borne down with taxes for years to come, even if the war debt is repudiated. It will be the duty of the Government to support the maimed and disabled soldiers, and this will be a great expense; and if the United States Government requires the South to be taxed for the support of Union soldiers, we should insist that all disabled soldiers should be maintained by the United States Government, *without regard to the side they had taken in the war.*"

A late writer, who within a few days has returned from an extensive tour in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, and who now enjoys a seat in your reporter's gallery, thus testifies with regard to the national debt:

"The national debt doubtless seems to you beyond the reach of any hand. Yet I regard it as very probable that one or two or all of three things will be attempted within three years after the Southern members of Congress are admitted to seats—the repudiation of the national debt, the assumption of the confederate debt, or the payment of several hundred million dollars to the South for property destroyed and slaves emancipated. I met several shrewd and intelligent men who expressed the belief that confederate bonds will be worth something in two or three years. One told me that large amounts were held in New York and England, and he expected steps would be taken within five years toward paying them from the national Treasury. I heard no man openly advocate the repudiation of the national debt, but scores argued to me that it would not be fair to make the South pay any part of it; and one man said he believed, if the case were only carried up, that the Supreme Court would so decide. The idea that the nation will pay the South for her slaves extensively prevails both in Georgia and South Carolina. It is incorporated into the new constitution of Georgia, and is openly advocated by many influential men in South Carolina. Wherefore, I say, the national debt needs watching."

Let the Secretary of the Treasury take notice and not expose the national finances to the peril which [illegible] them.

Passing from this testimony, which is general, I come to the neighbor State of Virginia. I read from a private letter which I have received from a Government officer there:

"We who are here have a much better opportunity of knowing the feeling of the people than you at a distance, for they will not speak as freely before you as they will before us here and among themselves. The feeling of disloyalty is as strong here now as it was during the war, but they cannot show it as they did then; and with regard to the freedmen there is every disposition on their part to make them odious. They constantly talk of insurrection, insubordination, thieving, idleness, and every species of crime and vice; all of which I assure you is entirely false. They are perfectly subordinate to every law, and, so far as thieving is concerned, such an assersion is gratuitous or false, for all cases of thieving, certainly, I am sorry to say, are done by the whites."

I also read from another private letter:

"The clash of arms has subsided, the serried host of rebels have been disbanded, and the huge paraphernalia of war have been scattered; but, nothwithstanding these facts, the low mutterings of sullen discontent are yet heard, and the desire to persecute and break down all truly loyal men is exhibited on every hand with even more sly ferocity than while the war of sections raged.

"We are residents of this city, each engaged in public business, and consequently thrown into contact with all classes of citizens. Hourly we hear denunciations of the Government and prayers for the removal of the military. And why these denunciations and these prayers if the oath of allegiance had been honestly taken to be sacredly observed? No, gentlemen, the spirit of rebellion is not dead, and will never die while Democratic leaders in the South are relieved of their treachery and turned loose to stir up sedition and to incite rebellion. The men make loud professions of loyalty, and their press reverberates the echo from hill and valley, but you have only to read their fanfaronades on loyalty to satisfy yourselves of the bitter hatred that fills their breast against the Union, and the burning hate with which they will proceed to pour out the vials of their wrath upon all Union men, when once they can secure seats in Congress and get possession of the reins of State government. In their hearts they cling as ardently to State sovereignty as ever, and once give them the power and they will tax the loyal people to the full value of the slave property destroyed by the war. Mark this prediction."

Another private letter from a person so situated as to be singularly well informed, thus foreshadows a system of Peonage:

"The necessity of the courts is beyond all question. Even with these courts it requires watchfulness to protect the blacks. If they were left without the courts the whites would keep them forever in bondage by keeping them in debt, and I am afraid that the legislation of the States will be to the effect to establish here the Mexican system of Peonage by using some very extraordinary terms to coerce 'hatched up' accounts against the blacks."

To this I might add indefinitely, exhibiting the bad temper and disloyal spirit which prevail throughout Virginia. Bayonets are no longer flashing there; bullets are no longer whizzing there; but the traitorous soul that inspired the rebellion still fills the State with its malignant breath. Do not, I entreat you, allow it to rule.

From Virginia pass to North Carolina. Here the testimony is the same. During the week, I have seen Government officers who have been in service, one of them since 1863, who report that it is not safe to speak one's sentiments there; that liberty of speech does not exist; that the freedmen, so far from being lazy or remiss, are willing to work, but that they are exposed to unutterable hardship and cruelty. On these points the testimony is explicit. A loyal resident of North Carolina writes me as follows:

"I tell you, sir, the only difference now and one year ago is that the flag is acknowledged as supreme and there is some fear manifested, and they have no arms. The sentiment is the same. If anything otherwise, more hatred exists toward the Government. *I know there is more toward Union men, both black and white.*"

More hatred toward the Union men, both white and black, than there was one year ago. Such is the condition of North Carolina.

In harmony with this is other testimony:

"Two women school-teachers who were recently sent from Wilmington to Fayetteville to establish a school for colored children, were informed by the Sheriff of the county that they would not be allowed to start the schools, nor would they be allowed to land; but they might remain on the steamer until her return to Wilmington, inasmuch as they were women; if they were men they would receive such treatment as was awarded to such meddlesome characters before the war.

"Mr. Dickinson says that while he was in Fayetteville a negro was strung up by the thumbs in the public square and received forty-nine lashes from a civil officer recently appointed by Gov. Holden."

A Wilmington paper makes the following report:

"Gen. Ames, Gen. Duncan, and Col. Donelson, have returned from an official visit to Fayetteville, where they went to ascertain the truth of the reports coming from there in regard to the treatment of the colored people.

"The result of their visit substantiates the fact that the negroes have been cruelly treated, not only by the civilians, but also by the civil authorities there.

"Two negroes were tied up and publicly whipped in the sheriff, on the sentence of a magistrate.

"Other negroes were tied up to trees and whipped and left tied to the trees until a storm came up and prostrated the trees, and the poor negroes fell with them.

"Citizens exercised the authority of masters over the negroes, and punished them at their will with such severity as to them seemed fit.

"It is even reported that negroes have been killed in the most cruel manner."

But why heap these instances? They might be piled high; but why pain your hearts by such an exhibition?

From North Carolina pass to South Carolina, where the testimony is, if possible, still more explicit. The spirit of this rebel State, still rebel in heart, appears in the well-known letter from Wade Hampton, which I do not stop to quote. It also appears in the frank speech of James R. Campbell in the convention, from which I read an extract:

"I believe that when our votes are admitted into that Congress, if we are tolerably wise, governed by a moderate share of common sense, we will have our own way. I am speaking now not to be reported. We will have our own way yet, if we are true to ourselves. We know the past, we know not what is to be our future. Are we not in a condition to accept what we cannot help? Are we not in a condition where it is the part of wisdom to wait and give what we cannot avoid giving? I believe as surely as we are a people, so surely if we are guided by wisdom, we will by the beginning of the next presidential election which is all that is known of the Constitution—for when you talk of the Constitution of the United States it means the Presidental election and the share of the spoils—I believe then we may hold the balance of power."

That Mr. Campbell spoke according to the sentiments of the prevailing politicians is attested by a private letter which I have received from a Government officer there who is so situated as to know the real condition of things. I read extracts only:

"The speeches in convention and legislature are doubtless known to you, and the *animus* pervading all action of these bodies. Mr. Campbell expressed it exactly. Let us do what we *have to*, as little as we are obliged to, to get into Congress somehow, and *then* pay off the score. One or two minor matters in this connection I mention as showing how the current sets.

"1. *The election for members of convention, 4th September.* The favorites in every contested case were those most prominent in secession proceedings of past years. The majority of them did not take the amnesty oath."

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"2. Not even the prospect of securing a favorable recognition in Congress could secure the election of any man tainted with Unionism, in opposition to any candidate thoroughly established as an opponent to the Government in past time.

"3. And yet, strange as it may seem, *the people*, by which I mean the planters generally, exclusive of the *politicians*, are not savagely disloyal, and this is one main point to which I desire earnestly to testify. It is a fact that the political working of the State is in the hands of one hundred and fifty to one hundred and eighty men. It has taken me six months to appreciate the *entireness* of the fact, though of course I had heard it stated.

"It seems to me a most providential opportunity is now offered to break up this mal-administration of politics. The people among whom I move are becoming restive under present disadvantages, and criticise sharply the acts of the legislature which seem to delay reconstruction. If the State is refused representation in the present Congress, and the acts of the State legislature, its speeches, its Black Code, its general fractious and combative attitude, its spirit in accepting the Constitutional Amendment and refusing the annulment of secession ordinances; if, in a word, it can be shown that the long recognized politicians of the State have thoroughly damaged the State by taking her out of the Union, and have also kept her from coming in, *there will be a political revolution in the State in less than two months.* The rebels so promptly pardoned by the President will meet no such complacency from the people. I *know* this to be true; am taught it anew every day.

"If the State authority is to be recognized, and the present legislature triumphs by forcing the State into the Union, I anticipate very disastrous consequences. The freed people are well enough; they do not know as much as could be desired, but they know quite as much as could be expected, and are open to instruction. But that instruction must come from the *Government, through the military*, untrammelled by any fractious jobbing of State legislatures. There is no confidence on the part of the the freed people in the *State*; they only know the United States Government, and no other will answer."

Here is a letter from a South Carolinian who served in the rebel army, but who now sees the error of his ways:

"I am sorry to say Governor Orr's inaugural yesterday received no applause at all from the audience; its sentiments were too Union-loving for them. I am sorry also to say that the South Carolinians generally entertain to a great extent their old ideas and prejudices so disastrous of late to the State. One is almost compelled to think they insanely wish to bring upon themselves more and greater mortifications. Witness the vote given Hampton, who refused to be a candidate. What an unwise display of a factious and discontented spirit! Few seem willing to admit the simple proposition that all causes of ill-feeling between North and South have been settled by the arbitrament of the sword, and we must submit sincerely. They seek rather to keep alive the ill feeling that has made us unhappy for so many years, and *that ill-advised disposition to supervise the actions of the United States Government.*

"If this war does not settle all issues, and settle them forever, *it will be because the General Government fails to use the power it has obtained.* I am as dear a lover of South Carolina as any man in it, and for that reason I wish to see peace and harmony restored throughout its borders. But that can never be if the men who tried hardest to break up the Government are, immediately they find themselves unsuccessful with the sword, *allowed to take seats in Congress and recommence the agitation with their tongues, and by their arguments and votes. More inflammatory speeches were not made in 1860 than have been delivered during the late canvass. If examples are not made, if leading men are not made to feel some ill effects from an unsuccessful attempt to revolutionize, then agitation will never cease, but will be kept up by ambitious men of mean talents who can hope to rise only in times of disorder, or by operating upon and influencing the passions of the multitude.*"

To cap the climax of this iniquity, a body of men calling themselves the Legislature, but having small title to be considered a legal body, have undertaken to pass a Black Code, separating the two races, in defiance of every principle of Equality. Here is a provision which fastens apprenticeship or serfdom in a new form upon the unhappy freedman:

"Colored children between the ages mentioned [eighteen and twenty-one] who have neither father nor mother *living in the district in which they are found*, or whose parents are paupers, or unable to afford them a comfortable maintenance, or *whose parents are not teaching them habits of industry and honesty*, or are persons of notoriously bad character, or are vagrants, or have been convicted of infamous offences, and colored children, *in all cases where they are in danger of moral contamination*, may be bound as apprentices by the district judge or one of the magistrates for the aforesaid term."

Under these words there is no colored minor in the State who is safe for one moment from a compulsory serfdom.

The lash is also prescribed as a means of enforcing contracts. The lash once more is to resound.

The planters at their public meetings have given utterance to this same brutal spirit. Here is a series of resolutions where, after calling for the withdrawal of the troops of the United States, and after declaring themselves pledged to the existing state of things, and that it is their "honest purpose to abide thereby," they proceed as follows:

"Resolved, That if inconsistent with the views of the authorities to remove the military, we express the opinion that the plan of the military *to compel the freedman* to contract with his former owner, when desired by the latter, is wise, prudent, and absolutely necessary.

"Resolved, That we, the planters of the district, pledge ourselves not to contract with any freedman unless he can produce a certificate of regular discharge from his former owner.

"Resolved, That under no circumstances whatsoever will we rent land to any freedmen, nor will we permit them to live on our premises as employés."

Thus is the freedman, whose liberty the United States are bound to maintain, to be handed over to *compulsory service*, and under no circumstances is land to be rented to him. And yet these people announce that they accept the existing state of things and that it is their honest purpose to abide thereby!

From South Carolina pass to Georgia, and there is the same wretched story. The spirit of the State appears in the language of Mr. Simmons in the convention:

"Let us repudiate only under the lash and the application of military power, and then, as soon as we are an independent sovereignty, restored to our equal rights and privileges in the Union, let us immediately call another convention and resume the debt."

The testimony from various quarters shows the same spirit. A recent writer, of unimpeachable authority, now sitting as a reporter in your galleries, thus testifies:

"In the stage between Augusta and Milledgeville, I rode with two gentlemen of considerable local weight and prominence, who were both anti-secessionists in 1860-61. They talked of the approaching convention and of its probable action in re-districting the State for representatives. 'Well, Colonel,' said the younger, himself a man of over forty years—'Well, Colonel, what will be our proper course when we are once more fully restored to the Union?' The answer came, after a moment's consideration, '*We must strike hands with the Democratic party of the North, and manage them as we always have.*' There was a pause while we rattled down the hill, and then the questioner responded, 'That is just it; *they were ready enough to give us control if we gave them the offices, and I reckon they have not changed very much yet.*' There was then conversation on other matters; but half an hour later, after a minute or so of silence, the Colonel suddenly resumed, 'Yes sir, our duty is plain; we shall be without weight now that slavery is gone, unless we do join hands with them; Andy Johnson will want a reëlection, and the united *Democratic party must take him up; it shall be a fair division—we want the power and they want the spoils.*'"

And the same writer, in another letter, shows how rebels were honored in the convention:

"'I'll be d—d if I vote for any man who did not go with the State,' said one of the delegates while the canvass for officers was going on; in accordance with which spirit the secretary is a gentleman who was a colonel in the rebel army, and the door-keeper a gentleman who lost an arm in the service.'"

Where such a spirit prevails, the freedmen fare badly. In Georgia they are treated cruelly. A traveller writes as follows:

"The hatred toward the negro as a freeman is intense among the low and brutal, who are the vast majority. Murders, shootings, whippings, robbings, and brutal treatment of every kind are daily inflicted upon them, and I am sorry to say in most cases they can get no redress. They don't know where to complain or how to seek justice after they have been abused and cheated. The habitual deference towards the white man makes them fearful of his anger and revenge."

An official of the Government, after traversing Mississippi and Alabama, writes from Georgia in a very recent letter, as follows:

"Every day the press of the South testifies to the outrages that are being perpetrated upon unoffending colored people by the State militia. These outrages are particularly flagrant in the States of Alabama and Mississippi, and are of such a character as to demand most imperatively the interposition of the nation's Executive. These men are rapidly inaugurating a condition of things—a feeling—among the freedmen that will, if not checked, ultimate in insurrection. The freedmen are peaceable and inoffensive; yet if the whites continue to make it all their lives are worth to go through the country, as free people have a right to do, they will goad them to that point at which submission and patience cease to be a virtue."

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"I call your attention to this matter after reading and hearing from the most authentic sources—officers and others—for weeks, of the continuance of the militia robbing the colored people of their property, arms—shooting them in the public highways if they refuse to halt when so commanded, and lodging them in jail if found from home without *passes*, and ask, as a matter of simple justice to an unoffending and down-trodden people, that you use your influence to induce the President to issue an order or proclamation forbidding such wicked and unlawful proceedings; and if he deem it prudent, forbidding the organization of State militia. *The only military force* NEEDED *in the South is more regular and volunteer troops to keep in proper subjection those lately in rebellion, and to teach them to treat the freed people in a manner becoming a civilized community.*"

Another witness, himself a Georgian, with ample opportunities of information, thus testifies:

"I have personal and friendly relations with many leading men of this section. I had before the war, and have met many of them in New York and in Washington within the past few months, and have, as a citizen of the South, had frequent conversations with them upon our future and the means that should be employed to begin it auspiciously. These interviews have been free and open in interchange of opinion, and I must believe that I had laid before me the intentions of those who must and will again assume the leadership here. If they are not so honored, their opinions will show how they *would* lead had they the power.

"Among these were four ex-Governors of three different States, who had received pardons from President Johnson. Our conversation naturally and necessarily turned to the future of the emancipated negroes. Their past and present condition was discussed, and their chances as well as our own were of course considered, and everything that could bear upon their future was canvassed. The course to be pursued by the Legislatures of the reconstructed States, and the laws to be enacted, in order to obtain the fulfilment of contracts with the freedmen employed, occupied no small portion of consideration. In this way I had full opportunity to learn the opinions of those who have been and will be again looked up to as the leaders and directors of Southern opinion and sentiment.

"The unanimity of all was not the least singular thing, especially regarding the *status* of the freedmen and their rights hereafter. If legal chicanery can avail, those rights will be but nominal, and they will remain as they have ever been, isolated and apart; free in name, but slaves in fact."

It seems that in Georgia there is a body of men known as "regulators," who are thus described by a correspondent of that journal which has for years whitewashed the enormities of slavery, the New York *Herald*:

"Springing naturally out of this disordered state of affairs is an organization of 'regulators,' so called. Their numbers include many ex-Confederate cavaliers of the country, and their mission is to visit summary justice upon any offenders against the public peace. It is needless to say that their attention is largely directed to maintaining quiet and submission among the blacks. *The shooting or stringing up of some obstreperous 'nigger' by the 'regulators' is so common an occurrence as to excite little remark. Nor is the work of proscription confined to the freedmen only.* The 'regulators' go to the bottom of the matter, and strive to make it uncomfortably warm for any new settler with demoralizing innovations of wages for 'niggers.'"

Such is the unimaginable atrocity which, according to a friendly authority, prevails in Georgia. The poor freedman is sacrificed. The Northern settler, who believes in human rights, is sacrificed also. Alas! that such scenes should disgrace our country and age! Alas! that there should be any hesitation in applying the necessary remedy.

Surely this is enough. I do not stop to dwell on the instances of frightful barbarism. There is one which has been authenticated in the court of the provost-marshal, where a colored girl was roasted alive! And another writer, in a letter just received, describes a system of "burning" in Wilkes county, Georgia, as "a mild means of extorting from the freed people a confession as to where they have their arms and money concealed." He says "they were held in the blaze." Think of it, sir, here in our country, "they were held in the blaze." And the National Government looks on.

From Georgia pass to Alabama, only to find the same evil spirit and the same succession of enormities, intensified, if possible. Here again I am embarrassed by the variety and extent of the testimony.

A recent private letter from Mobile thus testifies:

"The press and people here, with one voice, are loud in their praise of President Johnson, for his wholesale manner of dispensing pardons. But I have yet to see the first signs of repentance on the part of those who have received clemency from the Chief Magistrate of the Government. The existing feeling is, that no man who did not support the Confederacy is worthy of trust; and all offices are given to those who did their best to break up the country. President Johnson will find in the end that he has been too liberal in the exercise of clemency. And, unless he changes his course, or is checked by Congress, the most corrupt men in the South will again get into power, and sway the destinies of this section of the country."

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"And until the labor question is adjusted between the planters and the freedmen, we cannot look forward to a time of prosperity. The indications at present are not favorable to a satisfactory solution of this difficult problem. The planters hate the negro, and the latter class distrust the former, and while this state of things continues, there cannot be harmonious action in developing the resources of the country. Besides, a good many men are unwilling yet to believe that the 'peculiar institution' of the South has been actually abolished and still have the lingering hope that slavery, though not in name, will yet in some form practically exist. And hence the great anxiety to get back into the Union, which being accomplished, they will then, as I have heard it expressed, 'fix the negro.'"

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"I look forward with deep solicitude to the approaching session of Congress. I hope there will be strength and moral courage enough in that body to keep the ship of state right. The President has a difficult position to fill, and needs all the sympathy and aid he can get from right-minded citizens. But there is no question that he has been most sadly imposed upon within the past few months by designing and corrupt politicians."

Another private letter from a person so situated as to be accurately informed, gives this painful testimony:

"The Government in taking the responsibility of freeing this people tacitly engaged to protect them in their freedom. The various departments of Government have solemnly declared the black man entitled to equal rights before the law with the white man. Yet it is the simple fact, capable of indefinite proof, that the black man does not receive the faintest shadow of justice. I aver that in nine cases out of ten within my own observation, where a white man has provoked an affray with a black, and savagely misused him, the black man has been fined for insolent language because he did not receive the chastisement in submissive silence, while the white man has gone free. It is the simple truth that the most flagrant crimes against the blacks are not noticed at all, and, indeed, a man loses caste if he interests himself about them.

"It is the simple truth that black men are not allowed to use their own property to the best advantage, or in any way to make such use of their capabilities as would be likely to elevate them in social position."

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"The above are but specimen facts, and they are facts. Every provost marshal who has been in office here will testify to the truthfulness of the picture. Meantime companies are forming to import Coolies and European immigrants to drive the black man from the little chance that is left him. The whole thing may be summed up in one word: *the South is determined to have slavery—the thing, if not the name.* And if all restraint is removed, it is as certain as fate that their condition will be far worse than it ever was before. It will be the old system with all its mitigations rescinded and all its horrors intensified."

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"The prospect for the coming winter is overwhelming in its horrors at best. If the freedmen are left friendless, it will be the very valley of the shadow of death. Let Congress keep these States out of the Union till the shape and tone of their legislation is seen and understood, as relating to freedmen, and then keep them out until it is clearly shown whether the people will obey the legislation or make it a dead letter from the beginning."

And still another letter makes these revelations:

"Do not let yourselves be deceived by the influences which reach you. These influences are energetic, active, spare no pains or expense, to accomplish certain purposes. I know this people well; I was born and reared with them; they are far more hostile to the Government to-day than they were in 1860. Every demonstration in the State since the surrender has been, in one shape or another, that of hostility to the Union; and every new concession they make is simply made with the hope of thereby obtaining that decree of independence which follows, as they understand and expect it, the resumption of the *status* as States again.

"The elections are just over. The secessionists were united to a man—hopeful, active; the Union party disorganized, discouraged, and dispersed among the secessionists. President Johnson and Gov. Parsons are responsible for it. The enemies of the Union have defeated us horse, foot, and dragoons, in all parts of the State. The stanch favorites of our party are defeated everywhere."

* * * * * * *

"In a word, the friends of the Union are completely under; the successful party are the secessionists and renegade Unionists, enemies of the Government. It is to the Union party of the North that we are to-day indebted for being able to *live here*."

The person who is styled Provisional Governor of Alabama, in a late message thus alludes to rebel trophies, and fans the flame of rebellion:

"Several of these had been deposited in the Executive department, and were not removed when the capitol was evacuated. They were not destroyed, however, by those who took possession of it, but came to my hands as the representative of the State for the

time being, and are now carefully preserved and ready to be delivered to the Governor elected under the Constitution. We should preserve these sacred souvenirs of the courage and endurance of those who went forth to battle under their folds, and who manfully upheld them with their life-blood."

Surely with such a person in high office we could expect little else than the barbarism which rages there.

From Alabama pass to Mississippi, and there the same hideous scenes are renewed. Here is the testimony of a citizen of this State, once a slave-master, in a private letter:

"In respectful earnestness I must say that if at the end of all the blood that has been shed and the treasure expended, the unfortunate negro is to be left in the hands of his infuriated and disappointed former owners to legislate and fix his *status*, God help him, for his cup of bitterness will overflow indeed. Was ever such a policy conceived in the brain of men before? After a great step and a mighty victory you are expected by President Johnson to withdraw your protection from this people and turn their destiny over to those who for centuries have ground them into the dust. Truly, by such a course will your fruits become bitter ashes.

"As a man who has been deprived of a large number of persons he once claimed as slaves, I protest against such a course. If it is intended to follow up the abolition of slavery by a liberal and enlightened policy, by which I mean bestowing upon them the full rights of other citizens, then I can give this movement my heart and hand. But if the negro is to be left in a helpless condition, far more miserable than that of slavery, I would ask what was the object of taking him from those who claimed his services. As things seem now approaching the position of rendering loyalty at the South a disgrace, and those who, amid many dangers and trials, stood true to the Union and the Constitution are to be left to suffer the scorn, contempt, and oppressions of secessionist traitors—I say, as this seems to be the settled policy of the Government to the whites so situated, I fear there will remain but little hope for them or the negroes unless the true men of the country will present a barrier between them and those who are anxious to punish and destroy them."

The pretended Governor of Mississippi, like the pretended Governor of Alabama, exults in rebel victories, and fans the rebel flame. Both convention and Legislature abounded in bitter treason. In the convention one of the speakers declared it to be policy to accept the present condition of affairs until the control of the State is returned into the hands of the people, and "to submit *for a time* to evils which cannot be remedied." Another speaker, in urging the acceptance of the Union, thus revealed the plot:

"If we act wisely, we shall be joined by what is called the Copperhead party, and even by many of the Black Republicans."

Such is the voice of Mississippi.

Naturally the freedmen are exposed to untold hardships and atrocities. Here is the testimony:

"A superintendent of the bureau reports the poor creatures coming in with cruel grievances that are unredressed by these magistrates. Gen. Chetlain tells us that while he was in command, for two months, of the Jackson district, containing nine counties, there was an average of one black man killed every day, and that in moving out forty mileson an expedition, he found seven negroes wantonly butchered. And Col. Thomas, Assistant Commissioner of the Bureau for this State, tells us that there is now a daily average of two or three black men killed in Mississippi; the sable patriots in blue, as they return, are the objects of especial spite."

There is another authority of peculiar value. It is a letter dated at Webb's Ranch, Issaquena county, Mississippi, November 13, 1865:

"I regret to state that, under the civil power, now deemed by all the inhabitants of Mississippi (since the order of President Johnson revoking General Slocum's decree in relation to the State militia) to be paramount, the condition of the freedmen in many portions of the country has become deplorable and painful in the extreme. *I must give it as my deliberate opinion, that the freedmen are to-day, in the vicinity of where I am now writing, worse off in most respects than when they were held as slaves.* If matters are permitted to continue as they now seem likely to be, it needs no prophet to predict a rising on the part of the colored population, and a terrible scene of bloodshed and desolation; nor can one blame the negroes if this proves to be the result. *I have heard since my arrival here, of numberless atrocities that have been perpetrated against the freedmen.* It is sufficient to state that the old overseers are in power again. The agents of the Freedmen's Bureau are almost powerless. Just as soon as the United States troops are withdrawn, it will be unsafe for the agents of the bureau to remain. The object of the Southerners appears to be to make good their often-repeated assertions, to the effect that the negroes would die if they were freed. To make it so, they seem determined to goad them to desperation, in order to have an excuse to turn upon and annihilate them. There are, within a few miles of where I sit writing, several Northern men who have settled here, designing to work plantations. *They all assure me that they do not consider themselves safe in the country;* and two of them, ex-Colonels in the United States Army, are afraid to leave their places without an armed escort. Other Northern lessees do not remain on their places."

These are grave words, which open in fearful vista the tragical condition of the freedmen, and the peril of Northern settlers there.

And now the pretended Legislature is engaged in fashioning an infamous Black Code; but I do not dwell on this, as it has been already exposed by my colleague.

From Mississippi pass to Louisiana, where anarchy is beginning under the sway of returning rebels inspired from Washington. Unionists are menaced in their safety. The story is so familiar that I content myself with a glimpse. Here is the testimony of a responsible person:

"During the canvass I made a tour through the northern portion of the State where I have resided for many years and have a large acquaintance among the people, and was surprised to find the spirit of the people more hostile to the Government than at the breaking out of the war. This is especially the case with the leaders, who asserted to me in private conversation that they were more impressed with the truth of secession than they ever were; that the war against the United States was a just one; that they would not support any man for office who did not participate in the war; and that the only true policy for the Southern people to adopt is to support the Democratic party in opposition to the Republican party of the North. They say that the whole war was an aggression on the part of the Government, and that they intend to use every means in their power to destroy the Government.

"A prominent member of the Legislature, now convened in this city, said to me a short time before the election, that he was a stronger secessionist now than he ever was, and that he hated the United States Government, and intended to do all in his power to destroy it. This man is a leading member of the Legislature, which, in the House at least, is composed of more than eight-tenths who entertain the same feeling, and are now legislating for the loyal citizens of this State.

"There are several respectable men now in this city who are refugees from their homes in the interior of the State, being recently expelled on account of their Union sentiments."

And here is a private letter from an interior town of Louisiana, written by a lady to a lady in New Orleans and communicated to me:

"The poor colored people are in a constant state of alarm. There is a Mrs. ——— in this place who teaches the colored children; but the inhabitants, I suppose, not liking their having the advantages of education, express their disapproval by shooting at the teacher. At one time she was nursing a sick baby when a shot passed over her shoulder. No attempts were made to discover the guilty party. Of course all in office here are rebels. The teacher, who is a poor widow, became so much alarmed for her safety that she petitioned the officers to allow the troops to remain, which they did for a few days. The attempts on her life not being renewed, the troops were obliged to leave, and it is only on her account that they remained as long as they did."

Enough of this. Nor is this all. The pretended Legislature is plotting, like such bodies elsewhere, against the freedman. But I forbear to dwell on the elaborate machination.

In Texas there is more hope than anywhere, because a sincerely loyal person has been placed in power there. But a private letter from a loyal Texan thus cries out:

"What we of the South fear is that President Johnson's course, will, by its *precipitancy*, enable the old set to reorganize themselves into place and power. For Heaven's sake preserve us, if you can, from this calamity."

Surely you will preserve them.

But there is special evidence that I ought not to forget. The same authority which I adduced with regard to the general condition of the rebel States writes thus from Galveston, in Texas:

"If any man from the North comes down here expecting to hold and maintain 'Radical' or 'Abolition' sentiments, *let him expect to be shot down from behind the first time he leaves his house, and know that his murderer, if ever brought to justice, will be acquitted by the jury.* If the *military* are withdrawn, his house even will be no protection, and he may expect to be hung from his own chamber window. I tell you, Mr. ———, these men are only taking breath and recuperating. Not that there is the *slightest* danger of any *immediate* outbreak. No; the Southern people are too smart for *that*. They will *never* again measure strength with the North, unless their success be assured beforehand. In case of foreign war, or a domestic convulsion at the North, they will rise, but they will never try it alone and without assistance. Meantime they propose to 'take it out in *hating*.' Already our officers are the subject of a social ostracism. I repeat that any man of Radical views who comes down here to plant cotton will be in constant danger, night and day, unless he holds his tongue. The ministers of the Gospel of all denominations, the instructors of the youth of the country, the women, and the young men, all hate the North with a degree of intensity that cannot be exaggerated."

Small temptation here to the Northern capitalist! Small welcome to the Northern emigrant! The first condition of prosperity is security; but this is absolutely wanting in this blasted region.

There is also Tennessee, where authentic testimony shows a painful condition of things. I content myself now with official documents. It seems that a committee was appointed to consider what could be done to arrest crimes and disorders in Tennessee. Addressing Governor Brownlow, they remark as follows:

"In the discharge of this duty, we would respectfully and earnestly call the attention of your Excellency to the many dreadful crimes that are becoming so common not only in and immediately around the capital of the State, but over *the whole country*.

"Quiet and peaceful citizens are met on our most public highways and robbed of their money and property, often brutally beaten and abused, and in many cases murdered outright. This state of things is not only greatly injurious to the business of the country, but shocking to all sincere advocates of law and order, and to humanity itself.

"We therefore, with the earnest desire to see security restored to life and property, and the majesty of law reasserted, appeal to your Excellency, who is the chief representative of power in the State, to exercise your power, and give the weight of your great influence to correct these sore evils, of which *the whole country* so justly complain."

Gov. Brownlow communicated this paper to the Legislature, by the following message:

STATE OF TENNESSEE, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE, Nov. 22, 1865.

Gentlemen of the Legislature: The reputation being acquired by Nashville, the capital of your State and the great commercial emporium of Middle Tennessee, is humiliating to every friend of law and order. Murders, robberies, and burglaries are the order of the day. No man is safe, day or night, within a circuit around Nashville whose radius is eight or ten miles. The most of these outrages grow out of the abundant use of intoxicating spirits, connected with those gambling hells to be found in full blast on every street in the city. The same may be said, to a considerable extent, of all the larger cities and towns in the State. Life and property must be protected or the country will go to ruin. I therefore call upon you, most respectfully but earnestly, by prompt and decisive legislation, to remedy this growing and alarming evil. Should you fail to apply the necessary remedy, my next appeal will be made to Maj.-Gen. Thomas to close up all these dens of wickedness, so prolific of fights, murders, and robberies of every description. The Sabbath is violated, the sanctuary of the Lord is ruthlessly invaded, and ladies and gentlemen are insulted at every corner and on every highway. Again, I appeal to you, gentlemen, to relieve the suffering people from this outrageous condition of affairs. W. G. BROWNLOW.

I add a few sentences from a Tennessee paper, the *Southern Loyalist*:

"Do the authorities at Washington realize the fact that there is very great danger of wide-spread anarchy and bloodshed? Do they realize that it is the supineness and imbecility, or worse, with which the Freedmen's Bureau has been conducted at this point that is the cause of danger, and it may be of much bloodshed? God knows we speak in all sincerity, and we believe we speak the sentiment of nine-tenths of the loyal men of Memphis.

"When colored men have remonstrated against injustice—against the very discriminations against freedmen that the War Department declared should not exist—they have been told, 'If you damned niggers think I am going to give you any rights that you had not under the old State laws, you are damnably mistaken.' This may not be exactly literal, but it is very nearly so. When colored people have asked for wages hardly earned in the cotton-field but not paid by rascally employers, they have been in very many cases told to go about their business or left to get their claims as they could."

Such is Tennessee, the most advanced of the States claiming recognition in the Government of the country. But besides this testimony there is other testimony derived from its own statute-book. Tennessee refuses to the colored citizen his rights at the ballot-box, and even his rights of testimony in court.

I say nothing of Florida and Arkansas, for the special testimony which had come to me with regard to these States is not at hand. But it is not needed. The same dreadful report comes from these States also. But, even without any report, all this must be inferred. How could it be otherwise? Abandoned to themselves, with unchecked power, the old slave-masters naturally continue the barbarism in which they have so long excelled.

Mr. President, I bring this plain story to a close. I regret that I have been constrained to present it. I wish it were otherwise. But I should have failed in duty had I failed to speak. Not in anger, not in vengeance, not in harshness have I spoken; but solemnly, carefully, and for the sake of my country and humanity, that peace and reconciliation may again prevail. I have spoken especially for the loyal citizens who are now trodden down by rebel power. You have before you the actual condition of the rebel States. You have heard the terrible testimony. The blood curdles at the thought of such enormities, and especially at the thought that the poor freedmen to whom we owe protection, are left to the unrestrained will of such a people smarting with defeat and ready to wreak vengeance upon these representatives of a true loyalty. In the name of God let us protect them. Insist upon guarantees. Pass the bill now under consideration; pass any bill; but do not let this crying injustice rage any longer. An avenging God cannot sleep while such things find countenance. If you are not ready to be the Moses of an oppressed people do not become its Pharaoh.

MISSISSIPPI.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

THE State of Mississippi enjoys the honorable distinction of having furnished more soldiers to the National armies engaged in our late struggle than any other of the Cotton States. To be sure, they were almost all black; but that made no difference in their fighting, while they received few bounties, and still fewer promotions, allowances or pensions as officers. Others may have done better: they did what they could, putting their whole hearts into the work.

Our last telegraphic advices, via Knoxville, apprise us that their systematic punishment has already begun to be inflicted. Like other Union soldiers, they were authorized to purchase at a stipulated price the arms with which they had served their country. These arms are now being torn from them by their late foes now restored to authority and power in that Stste. An order from the State Adjutant-General directs the disarming—of course without compensation—of every negro in the State, and requires the captains of militia companies (all of them ex-rebels) to execute this mandate, employing "such force as may be necessary to put down any efforts of resistance." If this robbery and oppression is allowed by our Government, we shall not only have the negroes against us in the next struggle that the Secessionists may incite, but we shall *deserve* to be beaten by their arms; and all Christendom will say Amen.

TENNESSEE'S POSITION.—The statement that the Legislature of Tennessee has, by a vote of the lower house, defeated the bill to allow the blacks to testify in the courts of the State is accompanied by what would seem to be a curious fact, that the East Tennessee Unionists opposed it. The cause of such unexpected action on ther part will puzzle Unionists elsewhere. It is said, however, by a contemporary, that the East Tennessee Unionists have been as relentless in their persecution of the blacks as they have been of returned rebel soldiers. It is declared that they have been permitted to murder two or three negroes to balance each of the paroled and returned rebel soldiers whom they have seen fit likewise to despatch. They have good reason, therefore, it is said, to deprecate the admission of negro testimony, for it would hang hundreds of them if there was any semblance of law or justice in that region. It is stated that not less than a hundred rebels and negroes have been butchered since June last in and around Knoxville alone. This is certainly an atrocious business, if the accusations are true; and it furnishes a good reason why Tennessee may be considered in worse condition to resume the business of peace than some States which were more thoroughly rebellious.—*Commonwealth.*

THE ATLANTIC CABLE.—M. Saward, secretary of the company, writes to the (London) *Times:*

SIR,—In the review of the work by Dr. W. H. Russell on the subject of the Atlantic Telegraph expedition in 1865, which appears in your columns this day, the expedition referred to is spoken of as "the late, and possibly for some time to come, as the last, Atlantic expedition." In making use of this expression, the writer was necessarily unaware of events which have recently transpired, and I am therefore instructed to ask of you the favor to allow me to state that the arrangements of the directors as to new capital are now completed, that several hundred miles of the core or interior portion of the cable are completed, and that the Great Eastern is chartered to go to sea in June, 1866, for the double purpose of laying an entirely new cable, and of raising the broken end of the 1,100 miles of cable laid this year, so as to splice additional cable thereto, and thus, if successful, furnish to the public a second means of communication.

This 1,100 miles of submerged cable is ascertained to be in the most perfect order by daily tests taken from the time it broke, and still continued daily. The buoys at the end of it are washed away, but this is of no consequence, as they were intended only for a temporary purpose, the spot for grapneling having been laid down by solar observation, so that a good navigator can at any time sail to within half a mile of the broken cable.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 6, 1866.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION.

NO STATE SHALL MAKE ANY DISTINCTION IN CIVIL RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES AMONG THE NATURALIZED CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES RESIDING WITHIN ITS LIMITS, OR AMONG PERSONS BORN ON ITS SOIL OF PARENTS PERMANENTLY RESIDENT THERE, ON ACCOUNT OF RACE, COLOR, OR DESCENT.

SPECIAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THERE will be a Special Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society at Boston, on WEDNESDAY, January 24, 1866, to consider the State of National Affairs. The hour and place of meeting will be stated hereafter.

By order of the Executive Committee,

WENDELL PHILLIPS, President.

C. K. WHIPPLE, Secretary.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Thirty-third Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society is hereby notified to be held at the MELODEON, in Boston, on Thursday, January 25th, 1866, commencing at half-past 10 o'clock, a. m., and continuing during the day and evening.

A full attendance is requested, of the members of the Society particularly.

The duty of the Society, and the proper course to be pursued by it in existing circumstances, will doubtless be the leading subject of inquiry at the meeting,—opening the consideration of the affairs of the country, in its Present and in regard to its Future.

In behalf of the Board of Managers,

EDMUND QUINCY, President.

MEETING OF THE PHILADELPHIA FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

A STATED meeting of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, will be held at 727 Filbert-st., on Fifth day, the 11th inst., at 3½ o'clock, p.m.

Members are particularly requested to attend, as business of importance will be brought before the Society.

G. M. S. P. JONES, Sec'y.

MR. SEWARD'S WAR-CLOUD.

MR. SEWARD has gone to Mexico. To speculate why he has gone is one of the chief employments of the newspapers—as Mr. Seward meant it should be. Telegrams in quick succession announce that his mission is a political one, and that it is not, that he is in search of the Mexican President, Juarez, and that he is in search of nothing but relaxation. No matter what be the tenor of the despatches, it is enough for Mr. Seward's purpose that his voyage gets talked about, that public attention be directed toward Mexico, and that the vanishing war-cloud once more grow black and thick about the horizon.

He has pursued the same policy with England. A few months ago Mr. Adams was directed to press the Alabama claims upon the British government. Mr. Adams obeyed his instructions, insisted on the obligation of England to pay the damages her pirate-rover had done to our commerce, and proposed an arbitration. Earl Russell peremptorily declined it. What does Mr. Adams then? Demand his passports and sail away for America? Nothing of the sort. He stops the discussion, hangs up his Alabama demands, and Mr. Seward, having tried bullying England to the point where further bullying might lead to consequences, takes the tone of the lamb with her Majesty's Ministers, and takes steamer across the channel to begin the game over again with France.

In neither case had Mr. Seward the slightest purpose of going to war. To England, Mr. Seward and Mr. Adams together have contrived to admit away their whole case. That case rests on the bad faith of the British government—a good ground in international law. But Mr. Adams concedes—what America will never concede—that England showed good faith, and, so far as he is concerned, the argument is at an end. The French business has been rather more elaborately worked up at home. Within a week, it has been announced from Washington that Gen. Grant was going immediately to Mexico. Commodore Winslow has gone to take command of the Gulf Squadron, leaving his flagship as a conveyance for Gen. Grant. Gen. Weitzel on the Rio Grande had preceded this piece of news with a month of belligerent correspondence with the French commander. Mr. Seward follows it with his own departure.

All this bluster has one plain object—to coerce the country, by the menace of a foreign war, into accepting the President's reconstruction policy. The opposition to that policy by the country and by Congress proves unexpectedly formidable. It cannot be met on the merits of the question—must be met, therefore, on a collateral issue. Nothing so good for that purpose as a muttering of hostilities between the United States and any other nation, no matter which.

No man knows so well as Mr. Seward that there will be no war with either France or England. They cannot afford it, and we cannot. If we could, we never should under Mr. Seward's leadership, for of all men in America he is the most timid in real danger, and the most insensible to that feeling of national honor which might precipitate the Government into war when prudence demanded peace. But with Congress standing obstinate against a pro-slavery plan of reconstruction, on the success of which hang all Mr. Johnson's and all Mr. Seward's hopes, no man better knows how to raise a war panic, a cloud between us and France, just threatening enough to give weak Republicans an excuse for abandoning their principles, but not threatening enough to incur any danger. Many a speech is made by an English Premier only to afford a pretext for a few members on the opposition benches to change their votes. Mr. Seward serves the same purpose by his inspiration—as the French call it—of the newspapers; supplying Washington correspondents, eager for anything that looks like news, with half mysterious foreshadowings of a belligerent policy.

Doubtful Republicans could not desire a more plausible excuse to their constituents. In the presence of a foreign foe, what patriot can remember internal dissensions? The country is divided; to meet an enemy, it must be united. The South, sullen in defeat, will forget her resentment in haste to rally once more for defence of the flag against the insults of a European power. The North can no longer stop to think of the negro when the Union is assailed from without. Strike hands, join ranks, be brothers once again! Congress opens its doors, the traitors rush in,—and then? Well, then, Mr. Seward comes back from Vera Cruz, *not* having seen Juarez; Gen. Grant does not go in Commodore Winslow's flagship; Gen. Schofield's Paris mission dissolves into air; the troops on the Rio Grande are mustered out; the war cloud vanishes. It will have served its purpose. Mr. Seward's and Mr. Johnson's policy has triumphed, the Union is restored—the *old* Union, mark you, with the Southern members back in Congress, whence no human power can again exclude them, the State lines once more drawn close against all Federal legislation, the unhappy blacks delivered over to the mercy of State codes, and reduced at the will of their old masters to their old bondage.

There are not a few Republicans in both Senate and House who are perfectly ready to assist such a scheme as this. They dare not do it without some decent pretext; Mr. Seward's business is to furnish the pretext. It is the case of the man who was indicted for stealing a pig. The proof against him was perfect, yet the jury—under such influences as the administration uses on Congress—had agreed to acquit him. "Why then," said his counsel, "need I make a speech?" "Oh," replied the thief, "I want to give them a *pretext* for acquitting me."

THE LIBERATOR.

MR. GARRISON announces the discontinuance of the *Liberator*. The last number closes its thirty-fifth volume. They have been years of most disinterested and heroic effort. No words can do justice to the good they have done the nation. In the history of that sublime struggle for the rights of the negro race which has already lasted a full century, no name but CLARKSON'S has any claim to stand by the side of that of WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

His entire devotion of his whole being to the cause, his unequalled and indescribable disinterestedness, his consummate prudence, the tireless labor of a whole life, the comprehensive knowledge of his own times and statesmanlike adaptation of means to ends, the deep religious principle on which he has grounded his claim, followed by the splendid success of his efforts, mark his as the name which the world will justly associate forever with the anti-slavery movement. In the undying gratitude of a race especially grateful, it will live as long as that race endures.

But this is only half his merit. If the experiment of Republican Government shall prove a success on this continent, the world will owe it to him more than to any other man. No one familiar with the reach and wide influence of the Anti-Slavery discussion will doubt this. No one who appreciates the part it has had in forming the National character during the last thirty years, will deny it.

As a religious teacher, he has done as much as any man of his generation to sweeten the bitter fountain of sectarianism and show the world the possibilities of Christianity. He belongs to the company of LUTHER, of FOX, and ROGER WILLIAMS. If New England has won a distinct place and marked influence on the religious and intellectual history of the age, he may claim to stand among the foremost to whom it is due.

We who have enjoyed the privilege of his friendship are wholly unable to describe the debt we owe him as teacher and leader—for the daily sight of a life of the utmost single-heartedness, simplicity, independence, and of the highest Christian principle.

The flag we have so long followed is lowered. The man and the life remain. In behalf of millions still in bondage we deeply regret that Mr. GARRISON takes, and has of late taken, such a view of public affairs as makes him willing to discontinue the *Liberator*—the only mistake, as we think, in a life of singular sagacity and otherwise most unerring knowledge of his own times. We shall watch anxiously for the new channel of his effort and influence.

Meanwhile, since the *Liberator* ceases its utterance, we urge on all the friends of the Negro the support of the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, the organ of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and the only journal that represents the ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT. Its principle is that slavery is not in any true sense abolished if the negro, left without political rights, is given back to the uncontrolled power of his white enemy. Its claim is that no State shall be re-admitted to its place until the Union itself guarantees to every man on its soil equality before the law, and secures to this victim race *land* and the *ballot*—the guarantees of all other rights. Henceforth this is the watchword—its object to make emancipation a reality and not a name.

THE COLORED TROOPS.

ADJT.-GEN. THOMAS has presented to the Secretary of War his report concerning the organization of colored troops in the armies of the United States. With that of Adj.-Gen. Foster, it forms the first complete official account of the most remarkable enterprise of the war. The instructions of Gen. Thomas required that he should proceed to the Mississippi River, and inspect the troops operating in the field against the rebel forces, examine into all operations in cotton connected with the troops, and announce to the army the policy of the General Government respecting the negro race held in bondage in the States in rebellion. Inasmuch as Gen. Thomas was well known as a man of Southern birth and opinions, incredulous of the negro's capacity to carry a musket, and indisposed to enlarge his opportunities, his selection for this important and delicate trust indicated the least possible degree of enthusiasm and confidence on the part of the Government in the success of its experiment. What Gen. Thomas did and failed to do, we shall allow him to state, so far as possible, in his own words. He rather naively remarks:

"You undoubtedly recollect that the determination to send me on this duty was a sudden one, and the purpose was only unfolded to me the day prior to the date of the instructions, and you urged expedition as the motto. The subject was new to me, and I entered upon the duty by no means certain of what I might be able to effect. Still, as most of my military service was performed in the slave States, and I was perfectly familiar with plantation life, I felt that I knew the peculiarities of the whole race."

It is a somewhat curious illustration of the democratic nature of the Government, and of the policy of Mr. Lincoln's administration, that it was deemed necessary to send the Adjutant-General of the army to announce to the rank and file, as well as to the officers, the final resolution of the President concerning the employment of negro troops. Gen. Thomas says:

"March 29, [at Cairo] I reviewed the troops and announced to some extent the policy of the Government, and having up to the 8th of April carefully considered the whole subject, I on that day communicated to you my views. These views were subsequently enlarged upon as I came into more immediate contact with large bodies of troops and thousands of negroes. With but few exceptions I had the troops paraded, and after a review, had them brought together in mass and announced to them the purpose of my mission. I then requested the body of the troops to call on such of their commanders as they might desire to make an address on the subject I had announced. In this way the views of many general and other officers were communicated directly to the troops. With a single exception—the regiment from Chicago—the policy was enthusiastically received by the troops. The prejudice against colored troops was quite general, and it required, in the first instance, all my efforts to counteract it. But finally it was overcome, and the blacks themselves by their coolness and determination in battle fought themselves into their present high standing as soldiers."

So far as we know, that is the only official recognition of the great services and soldierly renown of the colored troops. The President insulted them by vague talk about their patient endurance. Gen. Grant passed them by in his military report, and in his political address to Mr. Johnson recommended their withdrawal from the rebel States. Secretary Stanton—whom sundry Radicals are fond of claiming as a friend to the negro race—gave them not a word in his report. Yet in earlier days, Gen. Grant behaved better, according to Gen. Thomas's testimony:

"I may state that the General-in-Chief of these armies, Lieut.-Gen. Grant, took steps to provide for the welfare of this unfortunate race, and detailed humane clergymen as superintendents of contrabands. To see to their welfare, the General, on all occasions, gave me his hearty support, and was ever ready to second my views. The policy, as I announced it, was: that all officers and enlisted men were required to treat the blacks kindly, and encourage their seeking the protection of the troops; to be fed and clothed, as far as possible, until they could be able to provide for themselves. The able-bodied men to be organized into regiments, except such laborers as were required in the several staff corps and departments, cooks for the troops, and servants for the officers. I also distinctly announced that if any officer should stand in the way, or oppose this policy, I would not hesitate to dismiss him from the service of the United States."

The system adopted for organization was not without merit:

"In cases where I could not personally visit troops operating at a distance, I invariably made known to the General in command, by communications, what was desired and urged upon them—the utmost zeal in carrying out the policy of the Government. In regard to officering these regiments, I authorized Commanding Generals of corps and divisions to assemble Boards of Officers to examine applicants desiring commissions, and to be particularly careful to select none but those whose hearts were in the work, and who would devote themselves to elevate the blacks and endeavor to early bring them into a high state of discipline. These Generals were then desired to furnish rosters for regiments, on which I would issue appointments and give the necessary authority to raise the troops. I also authorized the first sergeants of companies to be white; but I soon found that soldiers only took these positions to obtain promotion, and, if not made in a very short time, dissatisfaction was the consequence. I therefore changed the rule, and urged colonels to select intelligent blacks and instruct them. This system worked admirably; and I have seen colored sergeants drill their squads as well as white sergeants."

Good officers were, at first, not easily to be had, owing to the prejudice against colored troops; afterward, matters improved in that respect—the blacks speedily showing good fighting talent. Gen. Thomas went down to Louisiana to look after Gen. Banks' *Corps d'Afrique*, as that enterprising civilian christened his fancy organization—an organization which a little reminds us of Artemus Ward's regiment of Brigadier Generals. Banks had twenty-nine regiments, on paper, of 500 men each—half as strong as they should be in privates, but always with full complement of officers. Gen. Thomas stopped the issuing of ornamental commissions, and set himself to fill up the skeleton battalions with actual men behind actual muskets.

"Major George L. Stearns," says Gen. Thomas, "having been ordered to Nashville, Tenn., to superintend the organization of colored troops, reported to me, and I found that he entered into the duty with great zeal and rendered good service." The year's operations are thus summed up:

Organizations.	*Officers.*	*Enlisted men.*	*Aggregate.*
One Regiment Cavalry	22	390	412
Four Regiments Heavy Artillery	151	3,956	4,107
Four Battalions Light Artillery	11	385	396
Twenty-four Regiments Infantry	745	15,767	16,512
One Independent Company	3	93	96
Total................	932	20,591	21,523

These totals would have been greater but for the number of deaths, and but for the fact that the able-bodied men were largely taken up by the Quartermaster's department, the transports, and the naval service. Admiral Porter alone had in his fleet in the Mississippi more than 1,000 negroes.

Gen. Thomas's enthusiasm in the enlistment service was not proof against the opposition of Kentucky—a State which the *Tribune* happily describes as the coward and bounty-jumper of the war. The entire slave population was in a ferment. Gen. Thomas urged upon Gov. Bramlette that slavery was at an end, and that the State would receive credit on her quota for all the negroes enlisted; but that functionary was obdurate. He deprecated "agitation!"—thought Kentucky might of her own accord come up to the measure in four or five years, and had the impertinence to request Gen. Thomas to remove his recruiting stations the other side of the Tennessee line. Gen. Thomas was weak enough to accede to this preposterous demand, and no negroes were, at this time, enlisted in Kentucky. This was in January, 1864. By June of the same year, Gen. Thomas became satisfied that the time had arrived to disregard Kentucky opinions, and he directed that recruiting should begin throughout the State. It does not appear from this report how many troops were in the end secured from disloyal Kentucky. In the West and Southwest together, the result of Gen. Thomas's operations was to put in the service 2,804 officers, and 76,040 enlisted men; total, 78,844.

The report of A. A. Gen. Foster, which accompanies that of Gen. Thomas, presents a schedule of all the colored troops enlisted during the war.

"On the 15th of July, 1865, the date on which the last organization of colored troops was mustered in, there were in the service of the United States 120 regiments of infantry,

Numbering in the aggregate....................98,938
Twelve Regiments of Heavy Artillery...........15,662
Ten Batteries Light Artillery.........................1,311
Seven Regiments Cavalry...............................7,245

Grand aggregate..........................123,156

"The foregoing is the largest number of colored troops in service at any one time during the war.

"The entire number of troops commissioned and enlisted in this branch of the service, during the war, is 186,057.

"The loss during the war from all causes except mustering out of organizations in consequence of expiration of term of service, or because service was no longer required, is 68,178.

"The number of colored troops already mustered out, or under orders for muster out, is 33,234.

"The aggregate of colored troops remaining in service, after the execution of all orders to this date for the muster-out of organizations, is 85,024."

Gen. Foster adds:

"The reputation of the organization for efficiency, good conduct, and reliability has steadily advanced, and the reports of officers of the Inspector-General's Department, so far as they have come to the knowledge of this office, are very satisfactory as to its present condition."

On the subject of compensation for slaves, he makes the following statement.

"The whole number of claims for compensation on account of the enlistment of slaves in the service of the United States, filed with the Boards in Delaware and Maryland, is 3,971; compensation, varying in amount, was awarded upon 733. Of these claims, 294 have been rejected by the commission, as not being well founded, and the remainder are still before the Board. The total amount of compensation awarded loyal men is $213,883. Twenty-five claims have been paid, amounting in the aggregate to $6,900, leaving 708 claims unpaid, amounting to $206,983."

OUR New Year's greeting to our readers must be brief, but it shall be none the less hearty. We wish them that best happiness which comes from the consciousness of duty performed, and we urge them, as we pledge ourselves, to continue every effort for the welfare of the colored race. We are profoundly grateful for all the past year has achieved for that race, and profoundly solicitous that the coming twelve months may secure its freedom beyond all peril.

THE President is obliged to confess, through Secretary Stanton, that his appointments of Provisional Governors were wholly illegal—not only without law but against law. Mr. Stanton, in reply to the Senate resolution requesting him to report whether any person was employed in the War Department who has not taken the oath prescribed by act of Congress, says none have been so employed except the persons who were appointed Provisional Governors of the Southern States. These have received pay out of the contingent war fund at the same rate allowed Andrew Johnson as Military Governor of Tennessee. The sums thus paid are: To W. H. Holden, of North Carolina, $1,750; to James Johnson, of Georgia, $1,000; to Lewis Parsons, of Alabama, $1,000; and to B. F. Perry, of South Carolina, $700.

And yet the act of Congress passed July 2, 1862, ordains: "That hereafter every person elected or appointed to any office of honor or profit under the Government of the United States, either in the civil, military, or naval departments of the public service, excepting the President of the United States, shall, before entering upon the duties of such office, and before being entitled to any of the salary or other emoluments thereof, take and subscribe the following oath or affirmation:"—the Test Oath which Mr. Johnson's Provisional Governors could not take without perjury, and did not take. Yet they draw their pay on the order of the President, who disregards and nullifies the law of Congress for the sake of putting rebels in office, and money from the Treasury in their pockets. Mr. Stanton is not responsible for this; the President is, and we hope somebody in Congress will make the fact plain to the country.

HENRY WINTER DAVIS died on Saturday last, Dec. 30, 1865, at Baltimore, of pneumonia. Resident of a slave State, he was nevertheless one of the most radical men in American political life. He was also one of the ablest and boldest. While he represented Maryland in Congress, the hesitating policy and half-way measures of Lincoln's Administration were sure of one outspoken critic. He led the van in what we may call the Republican opposition to that administration. His career in politics scarcely reached ten years, but there was no period in it when he was not loooked to by the Radicals as one of their most trustworthy representatives. He voted in 1859 for Mr. Pennington, the Republican candidate for Speaker, at the cost of censure from the Legislature of his own State, and throughout the South—a censure which he indignantly repelled. He was the author of the famous manifesto of 1865 which was signed by himself and Ben Wade—the most courageous political act of the year. His last speech, made at Chicago, in the Summer of 1865, was for Negro Suffrage. True to the Union when his State was bent on secession, he was equally true to the principles which he believed essential to the establishment of a *Free* Union.

WE invite our readers to peruse thoughtfully the speech of Senator Sumner, this week printed. Nowhere else can be found such a mass of trustworthy evidence on the condition of the rebel States. Mr. Sumner marshals it in his usual effective and forcible way. The speech is sure of a wide circulation, seventeen thousand copies having been subscribed for by members of Congress. Nobody pretends to dispute its testimony, yet in the face of it, and of Gen. Schurz's report, the President persists in his mad scheme of restoring the rebels to power. Would there were more Sumners in Congress to expose and denounce this treacherous policy!

THE Christmas Insurrections, which the enemies of the freedmen endeavored to excite, are indefinitely postponed. There was a serious disturbance in Alexandria, Va., begun, not by the negroes, but by reconstructed rebels in gray, who armed themselves and attacked the blacks wherever they found them. After the loss of some lives, the military quelled the riot. Elsewhere, the chivalry seem to have lacked courage for such demonstrations. The negroes showed themselves, as always, patient in suffering and magnanimous under outrage and insult.

PERSONAL.

Earl Russell is ill, and some of the sanguine correspondents are already considering who shall be his successor as First Lord of the Treasury.

Senator Doolittle now desires to have it understood he is not a candidate for Secretary of the Interior, thinking he can do better pro-slavery service in the Senate.

A man named John Jones, living at Atlanta, Ga., sends to the Wyandotte (Kansas) *Gazette*, the small sum of $50,000, Confederate money, and asks the editor to send the paper a month!

Three statues by Marochetti, of Stephenson, Brunel, and Joseph Locke, are waiting for admission into Westminster Abbey, while the authorities cannot decide in what spot to place them.

An old miser died lately in Perth, Scotland. In his room were found nearly a thousand gold sovereigns and a few scraps of bread. His only luxury was in the collection of works on "Predestination" and cognate religious subjects, of which he had in his room a really valuable library.

Both the new United States Senators from Colorado are described as radical Republicans. Mr. Chaffee was formerly a banker in Michigan, and went to the original national free soil convention at Buffalo in 1848 as a delegate; he has lived in Colorado five years, has been speaker of the territorial House, and is now president of a national bank there.

Fitz John Porter, of disloyal memory, has abandoned—we believe at the request of the Legislature of that territory—gold-mining in Colorado, and has gone to Europe. Like his friend McClellan he probably thinks the United States is no longer a fit home for gentlemen—of his sort.

Senator Nye of Nevada will oppose the President's policy, and will take the strong ground that the rebels have forsworn their allegiance to the United States government, and should be treated as aliens who cannot be restored to the privileges of citizenship by the President's pardon. So says "Perley."

The majority of the Unitarian society at Charleston, S. C., in order to get rid of Rev. Calvin Stebbins, sent there by the American Unitarian Association, have voted to turn over the Church to the Methodists, who have taken possession, and Mr. Stebbins now preaches in Masonic Hall to the loyal minority of the society, among whom is the veteran Unionist, Dr. A. G. Mackay. Mr. Stebbins' offence consisted in his loyalty.

The *Tribune* Washington correspondent reports Chief Justice Chase as remarking, so lately as Wednesday, that whenever he found the case of the United States against Jeff. Davis on the docket, he should proceed to try it, but that under no circumstances will he try it in Virginia while the State is occupied by the military.

A. D. Richardson, Junius H. Browne, and William E. Davis, the correspondents who were prisoners at Salisbury, are among the summoned witnesses for the Government in the case of Gee, the late rebel commandant of that prison, who is on trial at Raleigh, N. C., by a military commission, on charges of cruelty to prisoners.

The Cincinnati *Gazette* says Major-Gen. Weitzel has resigned his position in the United States army, and is expected shortly to join his family in that city. He is now in Texas on the Rio Grande, and has lately had a sharp correspondence with the French commander on the Mexican side of the river—perhaps too sharp for Mr. Seward's pacific tastes or perhaps only a specimen of bluster to order.

Edward B. Ketchum, the forger, has been sentenced to four years and six months imprisonment in the State Prison. A strong effort was made to postpone the sentence on the ground that Ketchum's testimony—which cannot be taken after his sentence—is needed to protect innocent parties to the suits growing out of his forgeries; and a similar effort will be made to secure his immediate pardon.

Secretary McCulloch's reply to Mr. Sumner's resolution of inquiry, as to whether persons are permitted to hold office in the South without having taken the test oath, contains his objections to that oath, which he says should be immediately repealed by Congress. The radical Republicans consider the Secretary's letter impertinent, and advise him to stick to his Treasury bench and cobble the national finances. They will need it if Mr. McCulloch's reconstruction ideas shall prevail.

The Empress Eugenie, during her present stay at Compiégne, is attracting much comment by the great simplicity of her dress. Her majesty receives her numerous visitors on the day of their arrival in a dress of cashmere. Her ladies in waiting affect a like plainness in their attire; but the example seems to be entirely lost on the guests, who make as great a display as their purses will permit.

Professor Agassiz is pushing forward his explorations in South America. His party now consists of four grand divisions, one of which has for its field the peninsula lying south of the city of St. Paulo, and between the Parana River and the Atlantic Ocean. The second division has the sea coast extending from Rio de Janeiro to Bahia, and as far westward as San Francisco River. The third division has the interior, lying west of the San Francisco and between the tenth degree of south latitude and the tropic of Capricorn. The fourth division, at the head of which is Professor Agassiz himself, has for its tract the great valley of the Amazon, includ-

DEFECTIVE ORIGINAL COPY

ing its tributaries. This and the coast section are the two most interesting, if not the most important fields.

A person in Paris noticed a poor man with a wooden leg walking past his hotel, and gave him a franc. The next day he saw the supposed beggar, but he had changed the wooden leg from the right to the left. Enraged at the deception, he went up to the man and exclaimed, "You rascal, you had the wooden leg on the other side yesterday! You are not lame at all." "Monsieur," was the response with dignity, "I never said I was. I wear a wooden leg for economy, so as not to wear out my trowsers, and I change the leg to prevent one leg of the trousers wearing out before the other!"

The visit of Secretary Seward to the Gulf of Mexico has caused an excitement in diplomatic circles, although the Secretary declares that he only goes to recruit his health, and that he will be back again by the first of January. During his absence, Chief Clerk Hunter will act as Secretary of State. Mr. Seward will be accompanied by his daughter, his son Frederick Seward and his wife, and his nephew Clarence A. Seward and wife. Mr. Robinson, a messenger of the State Department, will accompany the party. The latest plan is to visit St. Thomas and Havana before going to Vera Cruz.

The Princess Helena of England, whose engagement is just reported, is the third daughter of Queen Victoria, and is in her twentieth year, while her future husband is in his thirty-fourth. He is the brother of the Duke of Augustenburg, whose claims to the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein have of late given rise to so much dispute. The Duke has, however, a son, born in 1863, so that his brother is only heir presumptive to his rights, whatever they may be. Prince Frederick is a Major in the Lancers of the Guard of Prussia, and, having neither principality nor functions which would require his residence abroad, will be able to reside in England.

The Pirate Semmes has arrived in Washington. His arrest gives a fine opportunity for the display of indignant rhetoric on the part of the reconstructed papers. The Mobile *Times* says:

"It is with profound feelings of shame, as citizens of the great republic, that the *Times* has to lay before its readers the sad intelligence of the unexpected arrest and immediate transfer to a Northern jail, of the brave, good, and chivalric Raphael Semmes, formerly commander of the confederate man-of-war Alabama, on the ground of having, during his most unequal fight with the Kearsarge, raised a white flag and then escaped under cover of the cessation of hostilities."

The Richmond *Dispatch* of Dec. 24 illustrates the value of reconstructed loyalty by the following:

"The beautiful and elegant set of furniture, twenty-one pieces in all, presented to Gen. Lee by the noble daughters of the Monumental City, passed through this city yesterday, and was shipped by canal for Lexington. The present was brought on free, the agents of the steamboat line refusing to charge freight in compliment to Virginia's former chieftain. We understand that the draymen who hauled the furniture through the city quarrelled for that privilege. We believe that freight is charged upon it from this city to Lexington. Such testimonials to this noble son of Virginia cannot but be gratifying to Virginians. 'All honor to his name!'"

The London *News'* Paris letter has a story of the Emperor Napoleon:

"One morning, about four years ago, he disappeared from the Tuileries, and was for a couple of hours unfindable. He turned up again, however, and at the circle in the evening every one was anxious to hear what had happened to him. He then told how, in his morning walks on the terrace of the Tuileries, he had often watched the omnibus on the Place de la Concorde which goes to Auteuil, till at last he could no longer resist the temptation, got out at the postern, and, mounting on the roof, went to Auteuil, and returned on the same conveyance. 'But how did your Majesty get the six sous to pay for your place?' asked the private treasurer, who was present. 'I have been planning the excursion for a long time, and I took measures to secure them.'"

It has been rumored in political circles in Boston during last week that John G. Palfrey, Postmaster of that city, is to be removed from office by the President. The reason assigned is that Mr. Palfrey was appointed by Mr. Lincoln on the recommendation of Mr. Sumner, and the opposition of the latter to Mr. Johnson's pro-slavery policy is to be resented by the removal of his friends from office. The successor named for Mr. Palfrey is Gen. Couch, late Democratic candidate for Governor of Massachusetts! There could scarcely be a plainer intimation to the Republican party that it must sacrifice either its principles and policy, or its hopes of patronage from the Administration. But what has become of the President's pledge to Senator Wilson, that difference of opinion on reconstruction should not cost anybody his office? The recent refusal of the President in conversation with another Mr. Wilson, to renew the pledge, is equivalent, we suppose, to a retraction of it.

The Secretary of War has laid before Congress all of the papers concerning the case of Philip Epstein, who claims that as he with four other refugees were escaping from Dixie, they were seized as blockade runners, their property confiscated and sold, and they themselves subjected to imprisonment and cruel treatment. The case was investigated last summer by Col. Nicodemus of the Signal Corps, who "found that these parties are *bona fide* refugees and entitled to compensation for all property taken from them." This finding was not approved at the War Department, and the case was sent to Gen. Butler for his remarks. Gen. Butler reviews the case in his trenchant style, declaring that the claimants are all foreign Jews, and that there is no claim in equity or law against the United States to a restoration of the property claimed. "The truth is," says the General, "this trading schooner was to come as near our lines as possible, smuggle across the tobacco and jewelry, and get in return what they could. We had been over and over troubled by just such expeditions. This class of persons, who traded for the Confederacy during three years and sustained its credit, are not the people now to ask favors of the United States, or, if shamelessly asked, should be refused." It is understood that this case is to be made the base of an attack in Congress upon Gen. Butler, but the documents completely justify him in the seizure and confiscation.

"Warrington," in his last letter to the Springfield *Republican*, says a curious petition is before the Massachusetts State Council, "pressed very vigorously by Rev. Dr. Neale, and other leading men of the Baptist persuasion. It is for the pardon of a man who was sent to the State Prison 15 years, for forgery. The Warden not long ago detected, by means of his correspondence, a deep laid plot for his release. By reading alternate lines of one of his letters, and putting together certain underlined words in another, he found the plan was to get his mistress to write letters signed by a man's name, which were to declare the prisoner's innocence and the writer's guilt. The woman was then to come to Boston, dress in man's clothing, and personate this pretended rogue, and so induce the Governor and Council to grant a pardon, running the risk of arrest. Now, what do you think is the ground on which the pardon of this accomplished rogue is asked for? Why, that he has experienced religion!"

The London correspondent of the Cincinnati *Gazette* gives the following sketch of Mr. W. E. Forster who is appointed to the office of Under Secretary for the Colonies. So soon has the fruit so long repressed by the frosty breath of Palmerston sprung up over his grave.

"Mr. Forster, whose Quaker father died in Tennessee, working for the welfare and freedom of slaves—who has himself at every turn sympathized and cheered on the Abolitionists of America, and defended the United States Government when it seemed to favor the right; who has always been the same rugged, honest, and vigorous man whom, hearing, one thinks that uprightness is certainly hereditary—that same man is now appointed an officer of Her Majesty's Government! Mr. Forster is not only a good and an honest man, he is a man of marked ability, and, at times, is about as eloquent as John Bright—which is saying a vast deal. It is queer; but though he has always struck me as a less compromising man than John Bright, he is the first to enter the Government. (It is universally recognized that Bright's position as the prophet of a new England, renders it entirely incongruous that he should become the servant, or co-servant, in any capacity, of old England.) Forster is a capitalist in the North, but he has always been remarkable for his sympathy with Trades Unions and the like, which capitalists too generally frown upon. There is a great deal of the congenital Quakerism about him, as there is about Bright, but it is traceable in no formalism of dress or manner. At this time particularly, when Jamaica Governors are to be dealt with in the Colonies, it is a good omen to have the man who, perhaps, as thoroughly and knowingly as any man on earth, hates slavery in the Colonial office."

LITERARY.

The Westminster Review for October. American reprint. Leonard Scott & Co.

The *Westminster* approaches the woman question with a consideration of the "Capacities of Women" instead of their rights, and resists the assertion that the powers of distinguished women are to be regarded as peculiar to them and bearing no relation to their sex. "We claim," says this writer, "that the talents and attainments of individual women shall not be idly set down as exceptional, or still more idly scoffed at as unfeminine; but shall be made an index to the powers of the sex in general." Miss Bessie Rayner Parkes, who is herself a contributor to the *Westminster*, Miss Anna Swanwick, the translator of Goethe's Faust and Iphigenia, of Tasso, and of Æschylus, and Miss Frances Power Cobbe are the three women whose works supply the basis of this article.

"Miss Bessie Rayner Parkes has met, we are sorry to say, with rudeness from anonymous male writers, who seem to imagine that she is bent on unsexing women, or is un-alive to the essential necessity of some feminine virtues. The small book before us, "Essays on Women's Work," appears to us a model of good sound sense, and keeps eminently aloof from any extreme views. She does not fall into the error of her male assailants, who set up their own ideal of the world, instead of manfully accepting what they find, and seeking to make the best of it."

Of Miss Swanwick, the Reviewer remarks:

"This lady was already favorably known to the public by her elegant translations from Goethe and Tasso. If we do not mistake, the eminent publisher, Mr. Bohn, summed up the opinion of critics by pronouncing her, beyond a doubt, our most accomplished female translator. The late Baron Bunsen was so much struck by the skill and faithfulness which she had displayed in dealing with so very difficult a poem as Faust, that he initiated a suggestion to her—that she would undertake the translation of Æschylus. The suggestion from such a quarter was in itself a very high compliment; and it is made higher still, if we are rightly informed that Professor Blackie's translation of Æschylus had been aided by Prussian funds through Bunsen, to whom Blackie dedicates his volumes. The coincidence has led us to compare the translations carefully, and we must say that Miss Swanwick has achieved a high credit, not for herself only, but for her sex."

A person much better known in America than either of the foregoing is Miss Frances Power Cobbe, a writer of great resource, originality, and various culture, whose own books have gained access to the best circles in this country, and whose careful edition of Theodore Parker's writings has endeared her to all his friends.

"The versatility of this lady is certainly remarkable. If she had to deal with only half of her subjects, no one would have suspected that she was able to write on the other half. Hence we are reminded that a reviewer puts himself into a false and silly position, who affects to give an exhaustive account of one who is as likely to comprehend, as to be comprehended by him. We trust we shall not assume any position of wrongful superiority, with whatever freedom we write. It is not merely in the variety and rapidity of her works that Miss Cobbe leaves upon one a sense of *power*; but still more in a certain directness and simplicity with which she approaches every subject, though in a manner and tone varied with the nature of it. If she deals with topics of a practical and popular kind—workhouses, hospitals, poor-laws, celibacy, female charity—nothing can be more unpretending and business-like. She everywhere leaves on one an impress of simplicity of purpose, truthfulness, and high, noble sentiment. Indeed, in every moral question, she rises and kindles, as soon as the argument passes into the domain of theory and motive. The moral and religious are intimately, indissolubly combined in her view; and in treating such topics she displays an ardor and an intensity truly rare. Whether she is born to be a prophetess of Theism it is not for us to say; but if she is not, it will not be from lack of living enthusiasm. Even if she had not written the little volume on the "Cities of the Past,' we could have discerned the strong poetical element in her; but without this and her book on Italy, we probably could not have guessed her descriptive powers. It is quite clear that if she would condescend to write popular novels (which, especially when 'sensational,' appear to pay better than anything else), her exuberance of humor and her rich graphic ability would secure her an immense circle of readers. But she evidently is studying, not how to enrich herself most, but how best to make her talents bear the fruit for which they are designed. We despair of giving any suitable and complete account of the works before us; yet we must try to say something. But first, we may remark, that women, who have on the whole so great an impetus and momentum as Frances Cobbe, have been (as far as we know) rather esteemed or respected than loved, and perhaps are generally feared. No one indeed could easily love a Medea or a Queen Elizabeth; and the remark may be applied to some energetic women nearer to these times. But we make bold to say (for we believe we state a notorious fact) that the qualities in *this* lady which inspire affection in both sexes, are more active than those which excite admiration. Therefore let the orthodox beware lest she prove a dangerous apostle."

This high eulogy is followed by a discriminating criticism on some of Miss Cobbe's peculiarities of thought and theories and diction, into which we need not enter. The following is the concluding paragraph of the article.

"We approach the end of the task which we prescribed to ourselves—to give some exhibition of the quality of mind displayed by three women, as some very imperfect sample of the work which English-women are about to perform. It is surely high time that a man who dares to write insolently concerning the female intellect, should not only be regarded as rude, but should incur the imputation of deficiency in his own powers. If we have not yet reached that point, we cannot be far off from it; for it is only the meaner male intellects that are capable of jealousy, or of ungenerous appreciation."

A review of Mr. Grote's "Plato and the other companions of Sokrates" does ample justice to the great merits of that author. "Mr. Grote himself ranks among the first of Greek scholars, and is undoubtedly the first of living historians"—a judgment which we, though Americans, shall not question. The treatment which Plato receives is less satisfactory. Though the reviewer begins by declaring Plato perhaps the greatest name in ancient literature, he follows Mr. Grote in an investigation which we conceive to proceed by a method that cannot possibly lead the most honest and acute inquirer—such as Mr. Grote undoubtedly is—to a just conclusion. The most striking passage in the article is the following account of Sokrates:

"Sokrates affords a striking example of the immortality which can be conferred by the admiration of a great writer. Except on two occasions, his name nowhere occurs in the political history of Athens. Of the circumstances of his private life we know little or nothing. And yet there is no one either in ancient or modern times with whom we are really so well acquainted, or whom, could he be brought to life again, we should more certainly recognize. His appearance, his habits, his character, were each perfectly distinctive. A man of unusually coarse and ugly features, with thick lips, staring eyes, and a flat nose; unshod, ill-dressed, ungainly. Dr. Johnson himself was hardly more unprepossessing. But the greatest exquisite of Athens declared that under the form of a satyr was concealed the image of a God. This is not too strong a way of pointing the contrast between Sokrates as he seemed to be and Sokrates as he actually was. He combined in a very unusual degree strength of body with vigor of mind and determination of character. When serving as a hoplite in the Winter expedition against Potidæa he distinguished himself not merely by his activity and courage, but by his indifference to the hardships of the campaign. He was on principle and practice remarkably abstemious. Alcibiades mentions with admiration the fact that no one ever saw Sokrates drunk. Yet when occasion required he could show that his abstinence did not proceed from blind asceticism. Plato in the 'Banquet,' represents him as entering freely into the pleasures of the table, and being the hardest drinker of the whole party: a description which he justifies by seeing all his companions under the table, after which, it being then morning, he gets up wholly unaffected, has a bath, and proceeds as usual to the Lykeum, where he engages all day in philosophical argument and discussion. This hardihood of constitution found its analogy in his character and disposition. On the only occasion on which he was called upon to take a leading part in politics—the day on which the motion was made in the Assembly against the six Generals at Arginusæ—he steadily refused, at a great personal risk, to put an illegal proposition to the vote. A few years afterward, when he was tried for his life, he showed the same independence and contempt for consequences. * * * His life was spent in public discussion. For a long time, from middle age to his 70th year, he talked and cross-questioned, and did little else. His avowed purpose was to stimulate the Athenian public to take stock of their ideas, to realize their objects in life, and to pursue them with an intelligent and conscious purpose. In his 'Defence,' he describes his relation to his countrymen by one of those homely and humorous images of which he was so fond. He likens the people of Athens to a large and well-bred horse, which had been suffered to become sleek and sluggish from want of work. He himself was like a gadfly, always irritating and worrying the animal, and leaving it no rest. 'In this manner,' he adds, 'I am constantly stimulating, exhorting, and reproaching you, one by one, from morning to night, fastening on you everywhere.' These words are scarcely an exaggeration of the fact. Day by day, he might have been found talking—incessantly talking—with any one who chose to converse with him. It was a matter of perfect indifference who was the interlocutor; he was equally careless as to the time and place of his discourse. In the streets, in the market, in the pleasant suburbs of the city, at dinner with his friends, in the houses of casual acquaintance, early in the morning, far into the night, at all times and at all places, Sokrates was engaged in familiar and unrestrained conversation with men of every class and occupation. He looked on the world at large much as we may fancy an acute Nisi Prius lawyer looks at the people he meets in society. 'This is a remarkable man: I wonder whether he would cross-examine well? Here is a very interesting woman: could I make anything out of her, if I got her into the witness-box?' This perfect publicity and unreserve was one of the distinguishing characteristics of Sokrates as compared with other teachers. He was ready at any time to give up a long morning to the first comer. He had no school—no recognized band of disciples. He took no fee; indeed he did not profess to be able to teach. All he could do, was 'to stimulate, exhort, and abuse,' and by judicious questioning help his hearers to think and doubt for themselves. He neglected all profitable labor as well as all political business, and no doubt, in the eyes of industrious and ambitious citizens, be seemed to lead a remarkably idle and purposeless life. No such reproach however can justly be brought against him. His manner of spending his time is more than justified by the great results he achieved and by the strong conviction under which he acted. He fully believed that the Gods had intrusted him with a mission; that they spoke to him by oracles and in dreams, and especially by a warning or restraining voice, to which he was continually subject, which manifested itself to him when he was a child, and continued to the latest moment of his life. This voice, or sign, of whose supernatural character he was firmly convinced, would check him in the most trifling matters if he were about to do anything wrong. He was accustomed to obey it implicitly; in deference to it, he kept aloof from public life, and when he was beginning to prepare a set speech in answer to the accusation of Meletus, he abandoned his design in obedience to the injunction of his monitor. There is no reason to doubt that he felt himself constantly in the presence of a divine guide, under whose sanction he acted, and whose approval he assumed whenever he was not interfered with. It is necessary to keep in view this side of Sokrates' character, inasmuch as he is often represented, and was, in fact, indicted, as a religious sceptic. It is true that his dialectical method, had he employed it consistently, might easily have led him in the direction of theological doubt. That, on the contrary, notwithstanding the negative vein of his philosophy, he should have been an orthodox believer, exact and attentive in his religious observances, is owing partly to a strong element of superstition in his character, and in a still greater degree to the subject to which he confined himself. The choice of that subject, and the manner in which it was handled, mark a most important era in the history of speculation, and constitute Sokrates' real claim to the title of a great and original thinker."

The number includes interesting articles on Mr. Lecky's "Rationalism in Europe," "Palgraves Travels in Arabia," and Lady Duff Gordon's "Letters from Egypt," together with the excellent review of Contemporaneous Literature.

We have received also the *Edinburgh* and the *London Quarterly* Reviews for October, and *Blackwood's* for November, from Messrs. Leonard Scott & Co., the publishers of the American reprints, and we improve the beginning of the year to recommend once more these good and cheap editions of the most valuable among English periodical publications. American readers must always have a deep interest in ascertaining the opinions of English scholars and thinkers on the questions which are exciting universal inquiry in both lands. Differ as we may and shall on political affairs, England and America can never refuse to each other their sympathy and cooperation in all matters outside of the domain of politics. These reviews will continue to furnish us with some of the best and most frequent expressions from the leading men in science, art, literature—indeed, in almost all departments of intellectual activity. To import the original editions is beyond the means of most, but the reprints are furnished by the American publishers at a very reasonable price, if taken separately, and still cheaper when two or more are subscribed for.

The first number of the *Friend* comes to us in convenient shape and very elegantly printed. It is a monthly quarto of twelve pages; addressed, as its opening article says, "to the thoughtful and intelligent among Friends," with the purpose "to awaken the interest and to secure the coöperation of kindred minds among all classes." It discusses a variety of topics, and presents a miscellany of information especially interesting to the body to whom it looks for support.

Mr. George Horn, who recently discovered, among the papers of the family of Miedel of Baireuth, a MS. on the cover of which was docketed, "Lettres de Voltaire," in the handwriting of the Markgräfin of Baireuth, the sister of Frederick the Great, has published them, under the title of "Voltaire und die Markgräfin von Baireuth." The whole are in the handwriting of Voltaire, from 1742 to 1758, and presents a curious and interesting picture of German court life of the time. There are twenty-six letters in all, twenty-five of which are addressed to the Markgräfin, and one to the Marquis of Adhemar.

A characteristic anecdote of Mrs. Gaskell is given in the Manchester papers. She had just begun to earn the full reward of her literary work; she had saved a considerable sum of money, and was preparing to give her husband a pleasant surprise by taking him to a pretty house which they loved, and which she had made their own when death stepped in between. The very last thing which occupied Mrs. Gaskell's pen was a little story for the Christmas number of "All the Year Round," which forms one of "Doctor Marigold's Prescriptions."

The *North American* for January will include articles by Parton on Henry Clay, T. W. Higginson on Children's Books, F. B. Sanborn on Prison Discipline, C. E. Norton on the President's Message, Russell Sturgis, Jr., on Art in America, W. D. Howels on Ducal Mantua, John C. Gray, Jr. on Courts of Conciliation, Rowland G. Hazard on Hours of Labor, Simon Newcomb on our Financial Future, and Douglas Campbell on Climatic Influences bearing on Secession and Reconstruction. A very attractive table, to all appearance.

The "Poems" of Jean Ingelow, published by Messrs. Roberts in Boston, have passed through sixteen American editions within less than two years. They have also attained great popularity in England, having reached a tenth London edition in that time, a fact which is said to be unequalled by any volume of poetry by a new poet, since the days of Lord Byron, some fifty years ago.

The "Book Concern," as it is called, of the Methodists was originated in 1789 by a preacher in Philadelphia, on a borrowed capital of $600. After a time it was removed to New York, and in 1833 took its present location. Its capital now is $837,000. Its total profits from 1836 to 1860 were $1,171,584,609, and these all go for denominational purposes.

As a specimen of printers' errors, we find the following in a recent list of *errata* in a paper that prides itself, we believe, on its accuracy:

Page 489, column 2. For "as accidental homicide is worse than deliberate murder," read "as deliberate murder is worse than accidental homicide."

An arm chair of Voltaire's has lately been sold in Paris for two thousand francs. It is of highly varnished wood, square-backed, and covered with velvet, which was once green. To the arms are fixed two movable desks in Japan lacquer, which join in front and form a little table containing two drawers.

Our Boston Correspondence.

Boston, January 1, 1866.

January 1st. Truly, a suggestive date. I wish the Standard a Happy New Year. A year of immensely important work lies before it. We have not the most distressing and depressing sort of *ennui*, that which results from "nothing to do." This is worse even than the fashionable feminine distress of "nothing to wear," for the latter, suggesting a definite want, suggests also a motive and an object for action. A world of needful work lies ready to our hands. Will it be done? Shall we do our part towards it? Time must show.

This first use of the date 1866 reminds me that this week, the first time for thirty-three years, there will be no *Liberator*. The cessation of that paper will be sensibly felt as a loss and a misfortune by many who have found it *their* liberator. The intelligent black man will always point to Garrison, far rather than Lincoln, as the breaker of his chain. But, as incidental circumstances in the labor persistently devoted for so many years to this great work, how many other and different chains have been broken! How many *white* prisoners have been released! The *Liberator* has been a blessing to New England even more than to South Carolina.

I was glad to see, in last week's *Independent*, the clear and forcible statement of Mrs. Child respecting the manner in which these incidental matters had come up for discussion in the *Liberator*. How was it that into this paper, established in good faith for the treatment of one subject, all sorts of subjects successively found their way? It was not merely that all things have subtle links of connection and inter-dependence; it was not merely that the genial, sympathetic, and earnest nature of Mr. Garrison felt the force of other wrongs besides enslavement, and had a fellow-feeling for other victims besides those of the chain and the lash; it was that the matters in question, so numerous and so diverse, were thrust forward by interested parties for the purpose of obstructing the Anti-Slavery movement. As the car of Emancipation rolled along, stones and beams were thrown upon its track, and the removal of each of these, in turn, became not only a legitimate, but an indispensable part of the work of the Abolitionist.

When the *Liberator*, an Anti-Slavery paper, applied itself to a defence of the doctrine of Jesus and of Paul concerning Sabbatical observance, and brought out clearly the decision of Scripture and reason that *all* the time which God has given, Sunday as well as Monday, is appropriate for the doing of good things, the very people who had compelled this demonstration raised their calumnious voices, declaring this to be a "dragging in" or a "sitting in" of extraneous and unsuitable matter. The dragging in was their own work. They had attempted to bar Sunday, the people's leisure day, and therefore the most suitable and effective one for Anti-Slavery meetings, against these meetings, on the pretended ground that the Bible forbade them. Thus the enemy themselves compelled the Abolitionists to bring forward Scripture and reason in vindication of their right to plead the cause of the oppressed on Sundays. But the discussion to which that hostile demonstration gave rise was blessed by Divine Providence to an opening of the eyes of many whose Sundays had, up to that time, been filched from them by a sectarian clergy. Many can trace to that discussion their first understanding of the liberty wherewith Christ makes free.

So with the famous "Woman Question." No doubt, many of those who have listened with pleasure and advantage to the papers read and the words spoken by women in our Association for the Promotion of Social Science—no doubt many even of those who helped to place women on the Committees and the Board of Direction of that Association—were ignorant of the vehement contest in the Anti-Slavery Societies, a quarter of a century ago, when the right of women to exercise those functions was hotly contested by the clergy and their partisans, and triumphantly vindicated by the Abolitionists. Certain words of Paul, it was said, barred women from speaking in the church, or anywhere else in public. Abby Kelley and Angelina Grimke not only proved their right, as Christian women, to speak publicly on the side of truth and justice, but showed themselves better acquainted with Paul's meaning than their opponents, and defended the apostle to the Gentiles against the misrepresentation of his pretended champions. And the instructive details of that controversy, are they not printed in the columns of the *Liberator*?

These are only specimens of the topics, full of interest and fertile in wisdom, which, originally forced upon the Abolitionists as necessities for the defence of their special department of reform, have been the means of enlightenment and liberation to immense numbers in other departments. Thus the thirty-three volumes of the *Liberator* are a storehouse of argument in various branches of reform, and will be referred to in the future in regard to these matters not less than to slavery.

The 1st of January is now hailed by immense numbers as the anniversary of Emancipation. While I write, the cannon, by order of Gov. Andrew, are thundering simultaneously from Boston Common, Dorchester Heights, and Plymouth, and from the revolutionary fields of Concord, Lexington, and Bunker Hill, in celebration of that event. In thinking of it, however, one cannot help wishing that Lincoln had had more of the spirit of Garrison; that he had used with more alacrity his providential plea of "military necessity;" that he had done fully that which he attempted but in part; that he had laid more stress upon the intrinsic justice and fitness of that great work which circumstances empowered him to perform; and that he had thus made the vast influence of his official station active in moving the American people in the direction of their duty. But these things were not so to be.

In accordance with arrangements made by the colored people of this city and vicinity, meetings were held in Tremont Temple yesterday afternoon and evening, to celebrate the Anniversary of President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. A very large audience assembled, our colored friends making no objection to the presence of white people, whether as speakers or hearers. Mr. Lewis Hayden (formerly a slave, but now holding a useful and responsible position in the State House) was chosen to preside. In the afternoon, addresses were made by Rev. Dr. Kirk, William Wells Brown, Charles Lenox Remond, and Rev. J. D. Fulton, and in the evening by Mr. C. C. Coffin (better known as "Carleton," the very able correspondent of the *Journal*), Wendell Phillips, Hon. J. M. S. Williams of Cambridge, and Chaplain Crocker, late of the army.

A series of resolutions in regard to the object of the meeting was presented by Mr. Richard T. Green, in which it is noticeable that thanks for the Emancipation of slaves, and the Abolition of slavery were offered "to God and Him alone," while "among human agencies" their gratitude is considered especially due to his Excellency Gov. Andrew and to Senators Sumner and Wilson. They seem to understand that no thanks are due to "military necessity."

The speech of Dr. Kirk was strongly and decidedly in favor of the concession of full rights to the black man, including the right of suffrage; from which it is to be inferred that there is a fair prospect of such concession being actually made.

Mr. Coffin related exceedingly interesting facts which had fallen under his observation in regard to the genuine heroism and devotedness of colored soldiers, and urged the imperative necessity of now giving justice to their race in the work of reconstruction before us.

The appearance of Wendell Phillips was greeted with great enthusiasm.

It is now, he said, almost precisely a century since the decision by Lord Mansfield in the great Somerset case settled the freedom and the rights of colored people in England. We have gone far towards the same result, but the work is not finished. To-day is a fitting time to thank God and take courage, as Paul did when he had got so far on his way as The Three Taverns, but we must not yet lay aside our armor, nor relax our vigilance.

We have shown, he said, that democracy can fight, and conquer. It yet remains to be decided whether democracy can govern. This is the trial now before us. If it can and does govern, it will secure to children all over the country the rights of a child born in New England. To each it will allot genuine New England liberty, a Court, a Jury, a Judge for each alike. But in South Carolina there is already established a labor code for a subordinate class. Its emblem is a lash, in the hand of a master. There is no abolition of slavery when a white man's government is reconstructed.

In explanation of the statement that the freedmen lack work, Mr. Phillips said that in Virginia alone the lands of rebels have been restored to the extent of dispossessing 70,000 freedmen; causing this vast number of laboring people *suddenly* to be turned out of their homes in this inclement season. The Boston Board of Trade find this state of things alarming in reference to the prospects of the market; and what do they propse as a remedy? "Compulsory labor," and "a stringent vagrant law." This is unanimously voted by the Board of Trade, with Mr. Tobey at its head. What a light this casts upon the perils of the black man! Our difficulty is not that defeated South Carolina rebels believe in compulsory labor, but that Boston merchants believe in it.

Mr. Phillips next made reference to the strange position of Henry Ward Beecher, who advocates a swift reconstruction of the Southern States *because* the South does not in the least understand Republicanism, and is in no condition to learn. The speaker thought that if a large body of people were to ask admission to Plymouth Church, alleging as their sole ground of request that they were utterly unfit for membership, they would probably get leave to stay out a while. And he referred with satisfaction to the failure of Mr. Beecher's late Boston speculation, the attempt to raise a loan for the unrepentant rebels of Alabama, through their agent, Gov. Parsons. This gentleman, being introduced by Mr. Beecher at the Union Club, was hospitably entertained there, Senator Sumner contributing candor, and other members flattery, in honor of the occasion. The proposed loan, from merchants of Massachusetts to members of the late governing class in Alabama who wish to save caste and peonage out of the wreck of slavery, was urged by Mr. Beecher and favorably spoken of by others; but when, the next morning, Gov. Parsons went down to State st., he got not a dollar from the Boston merchants. However they may praise "compulsory labor" on paper, they know too much to lend their money to it.

Mr. Phillips' complaint of President Johnson was that nine hundred of the thousand men who made the rebellion, who *were* the rebellion, are walking the South in safety to-day, through his permission, pardoned or unpardoned. It was a despicable discrimination that hung Wirz, and leaves Lee and Davis unpunished. The true cure of our evils would be to give black men land and the ballot—to cause an emigration of Northern men to the South—and to furnish Northern capital to these two classes, to aid the development of industry there. The speaker closed by drawing an impressive parallel between Mississippi and Jamaica; the vagrant law lately passed by the former being precisely similar to the measures taken by the latter after *her* compulsory emancipation; measures which, preventing the prosperity of that fertile island ever since, have lately culminated in riot, disorder, and blood.

Hon. Mr. Williams, a rich and liberal merchant of Cambridge, formerly a member of the Senate of Massachusetts, undertook to criticise Mr. Phillips, but ended by agreeing with him on the most material points.

The meetings were spirited and interesting. Letters of sympathy were received from Hon. Charles Sumner and Mr. George T. Downing, the colored people's delegate in Washington.

North.

JOINT RESOLUTIONS BEFORE CONGRESS AFFECTING WOMEN.

To the Editor of the Standard:

Sir,—Mr. Broomall of Pennsylvania, Mr. Schenck of Ohio, Mr. Jenckes of Rhode Island, Mr. Stevens of Pennsylvania, have each a resolution before Congress to amend the Constitution.

Article 1st, Sec. 2d, reads thus: "Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union according to their respective numbers."

Mr. Broomall proposes to amend by saying "Male Electors," Mr. Schenck "Male citizens," Mr. Jenckes "Male citizens," Mr. Stevens "Legal voters." There is no objection to the amendment proposed by Mr. Stevens, as in process of time women may be made "legal voters" in the several States, and would then meet that requirement of the Constitution.

But these urged by the other gentlemen, neither time, effort, nor State Constitutions, could enable us to meet, unless, by a liberal interpretation of the Amendment, a coat of mail to be worn at the polls might be judged all-sufficient.

Mr. Jenckes and Mr. Schenck, in their bills, have the grace not to say a word about taxes, remembering perhaps that "taxation without representation is tyranny." But Mr. Broomall, though unwilling to share with us the honors of government, would fain secure us a place in its burdens; for while he apportions representatives to "male electors" only, he admits "*all the inhabitants*" into the rights, privileges, and immunities of taxation. Magnanimous M. C.!

I would call the attention of the women of the nation to the fact that under the Federal Constitution, as it now exists, there is not one word that limits the right of suffrage to any privileged class. This attempt to urn the wheels of civilization backward, on the part of Republicans claiming to be *the* liberal party, should rouse every woman in the nation to a prompt exercise of the only right she has in the Government, the right of petition. To this end a committee in New York have sent out thousands of petitions, which should be circulated in every district and sent to its representative at Washington as soon as possible.

E. Cady Stanton.

New York, Jan. 2d.

NATIONAL EQUAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

To the Editor of the Standard:

Sir,—This Association, recently formed in Washington, is the out-growth of the anti-slavery public sentiment of the country, and represents the advanced political ideas of our day. Much as I respect the leaders and object of this movement, I must, nevertheless, suggest that there is a deep gulf between its title and the second article of its constitution, which reads thus: "Its object shall be to secure, by every laudable means, to every *man* of suitable age, unconvicted of crime, the right to vote at our municipal, state, and national elections."

Now, I would ask by what authority these gentlemen use the word "equal?" Webster says, "equal in government is a condition where one is not superior or inferior to another." But these gentlemen, having organized themselves for the declared purpose of securing "equal suffrage," by the second article of their constitution, exclude one entire half of the tax-paying citizens of the nation. The proper title should have been "National *Male* Suffrage Association"—if, indeed, the term *national* may be justly assumed by a society that works only for one half the nation. Either women must by their silence admit themselves no part of the people of the country, or they must protest against this misuse of language. The grand old words "free," "equal," "universal," etc., have long enough been used as mere "glittering generalities." The time has come for men to use words that exactly express their ideas. There is a kind of clap-trap in language which may be tolerated in venders of quack medicines and mere party politicians; but the people demand that the leading statesmen of the nation shall employ language that shall precisely convey, and not artfully conceal, their meaning. I therefore call on this association either to change their title or the second article of their constitution, as they are in conflict with one another.

A.

New York, Jan 2, 1866.

The President and Gen. Slocum.—The Washington correspondent of the Chicago *Republican* says of the President and Montgomery Blair:

"One of the means by which Mr. Blair seeks to gain his end is to endeavor to impress members with the idea that he is fighting the battles of the President against the radicals. He even tries to make out that he was doing the bidding of the President in the late campaign in New York, when he stumped the State for Slocum. Indeed, there are whispers of a letter of the President's in the hands of some party, indorsing Slocum."

Reconstruction in Alexandria.—The loyal people of Alexandria are petitioning Gen. Augur, commanding the Department, for an additional military force in that city, to protect them against the outrages of returned rebel soldiers. They represent that it is dangerous for Union men to pass along the streets at night. Many of the most prominent citizens of the place are active advocates of the scheme of re-annexing Alexandria to the District of Columbia. They seem to fear the result of reconstruction in Virginia, and are determined not to submit again to rebel rule. They think, too, that the prosperity of their city will be greatly increased if it and one or two of the adjacent counties are made a part of the District, as the security it would give would be the means of bringing forth capital among them.

THE THIRTY-SECOND

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

The Managers of the National Anti-Slavery Subscription Anniversary beg leave to notify their friends—the friends of the negro and of impartial liberty—that the 32d Anniversary will be held in Music Hall, on Wednesday, January 24, 1866. The aim of this effort is to give the American Anti-Slavery Society the means to continue its operations, and especially to sustain the publication of the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

Cherishing, as the Managers do, an assured hope that the Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery throughout the Union will soon be ratified, they still consider the great question of the condition and rights of the negro race as in fearful peril. Whether that anti-slavery provision shall be practically a dead letter, or really work its intended effect, is to be decided this winter. Whether slavery shall continue to exist in everything but the name, is to be decided this winter. Overborne by a powerful, educated, and wealthy race—one inflamed by old prejudice and recent defeat, and armed with exclusive political privileges—the negro, even if technically free, is still a slave, while destitute of civil and political rights. Even now, the rebel States propose a labor code, where differences between master and servant are to be settled, not, as in all free countries, by courts and judges, but by *the lash*, in the hands of *irresponsible masters*. This stamps the system as substantial slavery. The plan of reconstruction urged by the Administration leaves the black still a slave. Though some count on such resistance to it by Congress as will ensure its modification, it is still unfortunately true that, with four or five illustrious exceptions, the leaders of the Republican party and its most influential journals avow their willingness to admit the rebels back without securing land or ballot to the negro. No matter what rights are seemingly secured to him, if these, the defence and guaranty of all, are denied. With land and ballot in the negro's hands, no matter what or how liberal terms are conceded to the rebels. Without these elements of self-defence, all pretence of protection or security for the black is an absurd sham.

The Managers feel it to be still their duty to watch for the real emancipation of this victim race. While so many lips are sealed by party temptations, and so many journals silent or neutral from one cause or another, it becomes the Abolitionists—it is a solemn duty imposed upon them by all the pledges of their past lives, to rally public opinion, and secure the constant proclamation as widely as possible, of the whole truth, without fear, compromise or favor. They therefore earnestly appeal to their friends, to all the old and tried members of the American Anti-Slavery Society, as well as to those whose eyes the war has opened, for the means to perform, as efficiently as possible, this momentous duty.

Those not able to be personally present to aid on this occasion, and to listen to the appeals of the zealous and tried laborers in this cause, may send their contributions, as heretofore, to W. I. Bowditch, Esq., No. 3 R. R. Exchange, Court Square.

Lucretia Mott, Pennsylvania.
Lidian Emerson, Concord, Mass.
Mary M. Brooks, " "
Sarah Shaw Russell, Boston, Mass.
Lydia D. Parker, " "
Charlotte L. Forten, " "
Eliza Apthorp, Cambridge, "
Mary E. Stearns, Medford, "
Sarah Blake Shaw, New York.
Elizabeth Gay, "
Mattie Griffith, "
Sallie Holley, "
Emily Howland, "
Anna Shaw Greene, Boston, Mass.
Ann Greene Phillips, " "
Elizabeth Von Arnim, " "
Caroline C. Thayer, " "
Mary E. Sargent, " "
Abby Kelly Foster, Worcester, Mass.
Martha Le Baron Goddard, Worcester, Mass.
Anna D. Hallowell, Boston, "
Abby H. Stephenson, " "
Caroline M. Severance, " "
Sarah Cowing, Weymouth, "
Hannah B. Spooner, Plymouth, "
Caroline R. Putnam, Salem, "
Sarah Bradford, Roxbury, "
Rebecca Bradford, " "
Sarah P. Remond, England.
Sarah J. Nowell, Cambridgeport, Mass.
Sarah H. Southwick, Grantville, "
Ruth Buffum, Lynn, "
Evelina E. Slack, Boston, "
Elizabeth B. Chase, Rhode Island.
Anna Talbot Fairbanks, "

John Ruskin is about to publish in London a new volume, entitled "The Ethics of Dust: Ten Lectures to Little Housewives on Elements of Crystalization."

Special Notices.

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THE FRIEND.

A MONTHLY JOURNAL OF RELIGION AND LITERATURE.

This journal will make an earnest effort to bring to the discussion of religious questions as entertained by the Society of Friends, a really critical and christian spirit, without being the organ of any sect, or body, and to wage war, if needful, upon the misconstrued sentences of the Book of Discipline—by which so much of the true Religious spirit of the Society is marred.

In the next number will appear the first of a series of articles on Bible criticism, from the pen of an able scholar of Cambridge, Mass.

We are making arrangements with a party in Pennsylvania, also one in Iowa, to furnish us with letters to appear every month. The position and character of our correspondents will give their articles an exceptional value. Arrangements are also in progress for a European correspondence, and we hope to have a letter in readiness for our next issue.

Terms:—One dollar per annum, in advance. Six copies for Five Dollars. We will present to any person who will send us the names of *Ten Subscribers* (mail) a complete set of Whittier's Poems in Blue and Gold. On this liberal offer we shall expect to send a set of the *Quaker's Poems*, into every community where the Meeting House is seen.

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Miscellaneous Department.

AT THE SEPULCHRE—1865.

BY MRS. JULIA C. R. DORR.

Lo! we come,
Bearing the dead year, cold and dumb!
Folded above the mighty breast
Lie the hands that have earned their rest:
Hushed are the grandly speaking lips;
Closed are the eyes in drear eclipse;
And the sculptured limbs are deathly still,
Responding not to the eager will,
As we come
Bearing the dead year, cold and dumb!

Lo! we wait,
Knocking here at the sepulchre's gate!
Souls of the Ages passed away,
A mightier joins your ranks to-day;
Open your doors and give him room,
Buried Centuries in your tomb!
For calmly, under the heavy pall
Sleepeth the kingliest of ye all,
While we wait
At the sepulchre's awful gate!

Pause ye here,
Bending low o'er the narrow bier!
Pause ye awhile and let your thought
Compass the work that he hath wrought;
Look on his brow, so scarred and worn,
Think of the weight his hands have borne,
Think of the fetters he hath broken,
Of the mighty words that he hath spoken,
This dead year,
Lying low on the narrow bier!

Give him room,
Proudly, Centuries, in your tomb!
Now that his weary work is done,
Honor and rest he well hath won.
Let him who is first among you pay
Homage to him who comes this day,
Bidding him pass to his destined place,
Noblest of all his noble race!
Make ye room
For the kingly dead in the silent tomb!

THE ARTISTS' FUND SOCIETY.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

SIXTH ANNUAL EXHIBITION.

If an excuse should seem to be needed for our having so long delayed to speak of this exhibition of pictures, it will be found in its uninteresting character. Surely it is not creditable to the artists of New York, as a body, that they should be willing to ask the public's assistance in supporting a charitable institution, and give the public, in return for its money, nothing but a collection of pictures, all the best of which had been gratuitously shown, at Mr. Knoedler's Gallery, for weeks before they were removed to the Academy; while the remainder, with a few exceptions—hardly a half-dozen—ought not to have been shown at all. But it is only another proof of the provincial character of our society, that the reputations of most of our best-known artists appear to have been built up and to be maintained on personal grounds; they have not been hardly won by long desert, but have been bestowed by cliques, or clubs, or the persistent puffery of certain leading journals; and the artists, naturally, presume on these things, and take advantage of the position so easily gotten and kept, and betray a carelessness which would be impossible in an older and larger community.

This is the year 1865. The Academy has been established over forty years, and last year opened in its new, beautiful, commodious, and costly building the most unsatisfactory exhibition of pictures, showing the least progress, the least talent, and in every way the least promise that it has ever shown. To-day, in the Winter of the same year, the Sixth Exhibition of the Artists' Fund Society betrays the same want of progress, the same poverty of talent, the same defect of promise; but there is added to these, what was never so manifest before—a deplorable want of self-respect.

It is said, in excuse, that the artists take but little interest in this charitable Society. And we suppose that, on the whole, they do not need to. But it is plain that, as long as they ask the public to help support it, they are in duty bound, as a respectable corporate body, to give the public the worth of its money. This, we affirm, they neither do in the exhibition itself, which is not worth twenty-five cents to see, to say nothing of its miserably printed, badly arranged catalogue, which costs twenty-five cents more, nor do they give us the worth of the money we pay for the pictures sold at auction; for, in buying them, we pay a large *per centage* for the name of the painter; who, in every case—or almost every case—has sent, what it is no injustice to term, the very leavings of his studio.

We are not surprised to find the place of honor in such a collection as this awarded to Mr. Leutze, whose large drop-scene, "The Triumph of the Cross," occupies the middle of the south wall of the long gallery. We confess to a feeling akin to despair, in considering Mr. Leutze's position. It is plain that, in his case, ridicule does no good, if indeed it ever does good, in any case. And argument does as little good, apparently, for Mr. Leutze paints worse and worse, and the buyers buy more and more of his pictures. Here is a club of gentlemen whom we must suppose to be travelled men, accomplished, men of culture and breeding, who have no better use for their money, and no more taste, than to give it to Mr. Leutze for a portrait of President Lincoln, and here is a wealthy merchant, whose gallery of pictures is almost celebrated, who, not content with already possessing the artist's "Washington Crossing the Delaware," must needs add to it this last exhibition of his fatuity and pretension. What hope is there for any genuine improvement in our Art when such work as this is not only bought by prominent men, but given the place of honor by the artists themselves?

As for Mr. Leutze's picture, we shall waste no words upon it. It is so inherently vulgar and untrue, that we speak the simple truth when we say that its fit destination would be the stage of the Bowery Theatre. Art is outraged, history is made ridiculous by such a picture; and the day is sure to come when, even in the Bowery, it would find no welcome.

We never suspected that Mr. Gignoux had so much humor in him as we find in his "Classical Landscape," which is really as good a caricature of that well-known style as we remember. In a small way, it is almost equal to Hogarth's "Illustration of Errors in Perspective," which was one of the delights of our childhood. These nymphs bathing in a slimy pool fed by the drainage of a neighboring ultramarine factory; this aqueduct, which never could have taken water anywhere, and is only introduced for the sake of its arches; the difference of level between the two bodies of water, and the color of the whole picture, which rivals that of the most costly prune-boxes, make up a very good parody on a sort of art which is now happily outworn, and hardly needed this blow. Cole's unfortunate "Storm," on the opposite wall, is an example of an equally bad art—if, indeed, it deserves the name of art at all; and Durand's large landscape, No. 241, shows a forcible-feeble attempt to perpetuate it. But, fortunately, the attempt has no vitality; it is only born of imitation, not of feeling, and is as crude as it is insincere.

Mr. Kensett contributes many pictures to the Exhibition, and among them are those which show him at his best. His "Sunset on the Coast" has some largeness of feeling, which is disturbed by the petty treatment of the foreground water. The cliffs, too, are unreal in form; yet as a whole, the picture gives more pleasure than Kensett usually offers; it is far better than the "Lake George," which seems to us as poor a work as ever came from his easel. How could he deliberately paint this brook running into the lake which is far above it, as anybody can see, and as everybody does see?

But we do not propose to review the whole gallery. Mr. Gray sends his "Judgment of Paris," a subject far beyond his powers, and several small sketches, which are far beneath them. Mr. Huntington shows us several of his early pictures, which make us wonder how he ever got any reputation; and a later one, to make us wonder how he keeps what he has got. Mr. Hicks sends his portrait of Mrs. Stowe, which almost amounts to defamation of character; and his "Home Guard," which betrays a power of bad drawing quite enviable in its completeness. Lest we should think that his only accomplishments are in the line of portrait and *genre*, we are treated to a "Study of Rocks," where the reason for there being so little rock is, probably, that there was so very little study. Mr. Lang has performed the very difficult feat of excelling himself, and, in three pictures of consummate refinement, proves his pre-eminence in the realm of pathos. His "Fainting Spell" represents a calcareous young lady "going off" in an unmistakable fit, in an arm chair, all alone by herself. Another exhibits the same young lady, now, unhappily, come safely to, about to be fed on a large plate of unhealthy-looking fruit, which is brought to her by a deformed child. The third of this artist's pictures is called "The Fair Penitent," although why she should be called "fair" is a puzzle too deep for our solving. It is, probably, a case of *lucus a non.* As for her "penitence," it is equally confusing. What she has done we don't know; but the queerest way of showing penitence that ever we heard of is to go and sit half-naked in a public place, and let down one's back hair. We request the police to give this young woman a cell to be decent in. Mr. D. M. Carter had better be careful; if he paints many more such pictures as these he may be made President of the Academy or get a commission from Congress. They are not as bad as they will be if he perseveres, but there is every hope that, before long, he will become utterly intolerable. What a contest there ought to be at the sale, on Thursday, for the "Araby's Daughter."

Mr. J. G. Brown sends a not-bad picture, "The Coquette's First Victim;" he rarely ever paints a picture without some nature in it. We like this boy's face. Mrs. Henshaw's "Tulips," are promising. She has more facility than is good for her, but she paints better flowers now than Hall, although this is no longer the praise it would once have been. This "Water-melon and Flowers" of his is a travesty of nature; and yet Mr. Hall has knowledge and skill. But he has no sympathy with the delicacy of nature. His art is without refinement.

Mr. Whittredge sends two of his earlier pictures, Nos. 184 and 196, which show him to have been, at one time, strongly influenced by the French School. A little more sun would have made the "Westphalian Landscape" a striking picture of the conventional school—which, like every school, has merits in good hands.

Mr. Eugene Benson has tried his hand at landscape-painting, and has produced a work which would make a farmer snicker almost as loud as that one is doing, at this moment, in the other room, over Eastman Johnson's "Wood-cutter," who never cut down a tree in his life, and certainly never cut that tree from that stump.

Mr. C. C. Coleman, in his early picture, "The Campagna," shows a decided bent for truth-telling, only warped a little, and not by any means wholly lost, in these days. It is not what is called an agreeable picture and it is coarsely painted; but it is interesting, nevertheless. It looks as if it might be like the place; as if the artist had tried hard to make it so, and that will go far toward saving any picture. The cattle in the foreground are, on the whole, cleverly painted.

Mr. Anderson's "Hudson Highlands," No. 314, deserves cordial praise at our hands. It shows, plainly enough, that the artist is an industrious student; there are few American pictures on these walls that show so much painstaking. The drawing of the mass of rock at the right is uncommonly good. Let the reader lay aside his prejudices for a while and compare this work with Hicks' "Italian Study," No. 46, or with any one of Kensett's Sketches of Rock—No. 324, close by, for example. Hicks' Study by the side of this younger work is like the veriest schoolboy's by the side of the master's—not that Anderson's work is masterly, only it looks masterly compared with the unthinking, unmeaning, coarse work of the Academician. And, although it is weak in color, and has too little of the variety of nature, it still looks strong beside Kensett's work. You strike Anderson's rocks and they hurt your hand; strike Kensett's and your hand goes through them, for they are only painted pasteboard. Mr. Anderson, however, needs to remind himself constantly that nature is a jealous mistress; and, if he would win her, there must be no divided service. There must be no sheep's eyes cast after Mr. Griswold!

Mr. Farrer's "Northampton," as a careful and labored work, by a man whose pictures are every year more deserving of study, should have a more thorough examination than our space permits us to give. We cannot give our hearty assent, much less our hearty praise, to this picture, which, if it be allowed to be faithful to the detail of nature, is surely not a reflection of her spirit. We are annoyed, on the threshold, by the crudeness of the color, and the hardness with which everything is made out. We cannot think that Mr. Farrer is ignorant of what Ruskin has so eloquently written about the mystery of nature; but if he has read it, he has not remembered it. There is no mystery in this picture, unless it be what is the meaning of the line of mist which lies against the horizon hills so late in the day, or why the water is not all on the same level. But this is not the sort of mystery that we mean. This is the Northampton the surveyor sees—the farmer or the real-estate agent see—but it is not the one the bird sings over, and that makes the poet's song. These many years we have heard of the beauty of Northampton, and wished to see it; but we stand before this canvas, and are disappointed. We cannot think the enthusiasm of so many reporters all ill-grounded or assumed; we conclude that the artist saw less than the multitude. Yet our objection is not relative—it is positive. We say that no such wide region—no single field—can be so bare of incident, of accident, of variety, as this. It is the prose, not the poetry, of landscape. The sky is the best part of the picture, and just misses, by its coarse painting, of being beautiful. The clouds are well drawn, although we do not accept Mr. Farrer's understanding of them. He seems to think that they stream out from a sort of nucleus or centre, and diverge or ray out like the spokes of a wheel; but, in reality, what looks like the nucleus is merely the vanishing point, where these long, fleecy, parallel bands of cloud appear to meet. We hope to see the other pictures which Mr. Farrer has painted during the past Summer in the Academy Exhibition. His work is very interesting to study, and has, at last, arrested serious attention.

The crown of the whole Exhibition, however, and quite worthy, for its sincerity and even for its finish, to stand by Gérome's "Prayer in the Desert," is Mr. Charles Moore's "Winter Study in the Cattskills." Work like this, so broad in treatment, and yet so delicately minute in finish—so large in feeling, and yet so tenderly affectionate—has never before come from an American hand. Considering how short a time has elapsed since the artist was painting pictures of the stamp of Hubbard and Brevoort, we cannot but think that his progress promises great things. The visitor to this gallery, when he has once found out the little bit of canvas, which represents the labor of a Winter, ought to go over every inch of it with careful scrutiny; for the pencil has not touched it once without purpose, nor left it without recording a truth. Yet, with all its firmness, with all its strength, it is absolutely free from hardness. How beautiful are these tree-trunks and how true, with the snow melting about their roots in cup-like hollows; the dead weeds against the stone wall, relics of last year's hedge-row; the depth of the snow; the cloud, a mist that forms and flies; the distant hills; study all these things long and well. Not without love, not without labor and sacrifice, has this picture been produced.

One single word about the sculptures. Mr. Launt Thompson's "Napoleon" has great merit. It is as unaffected as a statue of its most theatrical subject could well be and be true. Mr. Charles Müller's portrait bust of himself is a strong, manly piece of work. This is something like what sculpture—"stone-cutting"—should be. A few more busts like this, a few more works by Ward, and the day of the milk-sops will begin to wane.

A SKETCH OF M. DE LAMARTINE.

M de Lamartine, the old leader of the Provisional Government of 1848, has for many years so comported himself as to grieve his best friends, and to make himself the laughing-stock of his enemies. Time after time he has paraded before the world those private difficulties which are but the necessary result of the bad administration of large means and incurably extravagant habits. While pluming himself on pride and delicacy for refusing the subscriptions which were offered when he first made his distresses known, he unblushingly perseveres in a system of disguised mendicity, which brought him in far more ill-earned money than he would ever have got as an open recipient of charity. By dint of heart-rending appeals in private letters, printed circulars, and newspaper articles, he has gone on for seven or eight years inducing the public to subscribe and pay in advance for very worthless writings, in which an old man who once had genius, though always of a flashy kind, but is now a mere word-spinner, destitute of taste, invention, or judgment, hashes up the dregs of his talent.

Whenever the subscription flags, it is given out that M. de Lamartine, bowed down by the weight of years, long privation, and hard work for the benefit of his creditors, is about to make a crowning sacrifice and sell his paternal hearth and home of Saint Point, near Macon, which, it is invariably said, he would have got rid of long ago but for the humane fear that his tenants, whom he loves as his children, might fall into the hands of a bad landlord. The repetition of this interesting story never fails to bring a grist to the mill. All this while the owner of the domain of St. Point leads, as he has always done, the large life of a nobleman of the old school, having horses and carriages and pet greyhounds, giving dinners to his friends, luncheons to mere casual visitors, and *largesse* to the poor. Desbarolles, the famous professor of the science of chiromancy, being once asked to look at Lamartine's hand, said he did not dare tell him what he saw there; but on being pressed, he averred that the lines indicated not the spirit of poetry, but the spirit of turning a penny.

Some years since an intimate friend commiserating Lamartine on the prospects of his giving up St. Point, was told not to distress himself, because he had not the least idea of leaving it. "Well," said the interlocutor, "but have you not put it up for a lottery?" "What matters that," replied Lamartine, "is there not the St. Anthony lottery; but who ever supposed that the winner will get St. Anthony?" Certainly Lamartine showed himself as smart a man in this matter as the anecdote would infer. How it was managed I don't remember; but this much I know, that for months and months St. Point lottery tickets were exhibited for sale in the window of every tobacconists in Paris. That is long ago. A very large sum of money was pocketed by the sale of the tickets, and Lamartine is yet in quiet possession of the estate. His periodical Meditations and Entretiens still go on, and it is necessary to resort to devices to stimulate purchasers. The jaded author's last dodge is to deliver himself of an eccentric opinion about Mexico.

That a republican of 1848 should approve Louis Napoleon for setting up an Austrian Archduke to be Emperor of Mexico is something so paradoxical and sensational that it will no doubt sell a good many copies of the last number of the Entretiens. M. de Lamartine admits that the Mexican expedition is unpopular in France, but he says the public is all wrong, and that he alone, M. de Lamartine, has understood the height and breadth and depth of the grand design. He sees it, "a sublime conception, equitable as necessity, vast as the ocean, new as an impromtu, a statesmanlike thought, sanitary for America and for the whole world." The common sense of the public, which likes to comprehend things clearly without fancying itself "vast as the ocean," saw in this expedition a movement hostile to the institutions of the United States, and that M. de Lamartine sees too, but then he thinks it all right. He calls Americans "modern Saracens," says "America belongs to Europe," and plainly avows that Europe has a right to take possession of her mines and cotton plantations. All the sound part of the press in France treat this *escapade* of the degraded old man with just severity; but as they at the same time advertise his name and his books, their censures answer his purpose.

THE DEATH-BED OF CORWIN.

Special Correspondence of the Cincinnati Gazette.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 17.

The social party at Mr. Wetmore's, the other evening, which was destined to end so tragically, was one of the pleasantest and most brilliant assemblages of distinguished Ohioans ever gathered under one roof at the Capital. The Supreme Court, Cabinet, Senate, House, Bar, and Army combined to grace the occasion. The great head of one of the three coördinate divisions of our National Government mingled in the crowd. Three ex-Governors of Ohio were for a time in a little group together—a group (never, alas, to be gathered again!) that called up how much of the State's greatness and historic renown! Two ex-Secretaries of the Treasury were there. The distinguished figure of the Ohioan who battered down Fort Sumter was conspicuous; the Paymaster-General of the army, the Monitor of Maryland, the chief of staff whose name is inseparably associated with Chickamauga, furnished other centres in a representation of the army befitting a State which has contributed half the leading generals to the war. Senators were there whose career is part of the nation's best history. There were old men, whose biographies record the political life of the State; young men who had grown up to the responsibilities and work the older were leaving; ornaments of the bench and of the bar. Greetings were everywhere cordial wit; and anecdote and genial chat filled the busy air; it was more like a rare reunion of College Alumni than like a gathering of many and worldly politicians. But the wit and anecdote were to be hushed by one of those awful strokes which, as the greatest of English rhetoricians said in his speech at Bristol, "feelingly tell us what shadows we are, and what shadows we pursue." Of all this brilliant assemblage, a plain old lawyer, without place or power, was the inspiring soul. Old political antagonists and rivals met with warm cordiality; younger politicians hung upon his words; and when they seated him in an easy chair by the wall, half the company clustered about to listen to the rare talk or watch the wonderful play of his features. With some of those present he had risen to a plane above the jealousies and contests of their earlier years; to the younger he had come down as a great tradition. To most, perhaps, of those present, the displays which had ranked him, in the estimation of the generation now passing away, but a little lower than Webster or Clay in intellectual grasp, and in surpassing eloquence above them both, were familiar only as stories their fathers told about the "Tom Corwin" of their affectionate remembrance. Representative in the Legislature of his State at twenty-eight, Member of Congress at thirty-seven, Governor of his State at forty-six, United States Senator at fifty-one, Secretary of the Treasury at fifty-six, the old man had run the round of honors the State and Nation had to bestow. Emerging from his voluntary retirement at sixty-five, he sought what an old man's counsels might do to quell the rising storm. Then, when it was seen how the waves washed over old landmarks, or stranded them among the debris on the beach, his mature wisdom had been invoked at sixty-seven to aid the struggling Republic, in whose defence, in his younger years, he had won his brightest laurels. No wonder that the Mexicans hailed this man as their noblest of friends. No wonder that this man sent home, as the fruits of his mission, a treaty, which, but for the Senate's neglect, would to-day have shown us Republican Mexico, free from Maximilian, with an ordered government, and have relieved us from the most imminent of our present dangers. His last work was his wisest. This done, the worn statesman came home, seventy-one years old, and poor. He had twice retired with affluence, which misfortunes had twice snatched from him; and at last he avowed his determination to die in the harness. "I am old and infirm," he said a few days ago to Roscoe Conkling, "and in the common way of life I must soon die. Men will remember me—as a joker." Ohioans, at least, hung about him last Friday evening, as if his jokes were very attractive. He was in the best of spirits, and looked better than his friends remembered seeing him for months. But a few days before, he had returned from his Ohio home, where he had gone to attend the wedding of his youngest daughter. His faculties seemed all attuned and stimulated by the pleasant incident, as well as by the warm and affectionate greetings with which he was received. Making his way through the crowd of men who had grown into prominence under his eye, he was seated at the side of the room, and at once drawn into animated talk. His old and favorite law student, Gen. Schenck, came to talk of the home wedding; Chief-Justice Chase hastened to greet him; Senator Ben. Wade installed himself by his side, and begged him to tell a favorite story.

"I have not seen him for ten years past so much like the old Tom Corwin of my boyhood," said Gen. Durbin Ward, his law student, and subsequently his partner. "There's but one Tom Corwin in the world," enthusiastically exclaimed another, as he moved back a little, out of the group where he had been swallowing every syllable. Thus surrounded by the brilliant and distinguished in the State, old rivals and antagonists meeting him with admiring warmth, seeing all about him the men who had grown up under him every one attentive to his lowest tone and slightest gesture, Gov. Corwin must have regarded it as one of the sunniest episodes in his downward way of life. By and by supper was announced. Ben Wade took his arm, helped him at the staircase, and found a seat for him on a sofa. He would eat nothing—only taking a couple of oysters and a glass of water. But his flow of genial anecdote and sparkling wit, varied now and then by one of those touches of pathos, or one of those suggestive and far-reaching political reflections he knew so well how to apply, continued with unabated brilliancy. Some of the Ohio belles who grace the capital were on the other side of the room; but even from them he drew away listeners, till he and Wade, who sat beside him on the sofa, were fairly hemmed in by a circle that embraced half the people in the room. His tones, however, grew unusually low, and men were bending down, trying to catch every syllable. He had been talking of Brazil; and, replying to a remark of our Consul at Rio Janeiro, who had just been speaking to him of Don Pedro, the Emperor, he said: "Yes, Don Pedro, I'm sure, is a fine man, what, in fact, we would call, sir (with the indescribable epitome of all possible jokes in the sudden play of his features), in our country a popular man. Why, sir, so high do I rate his popular qualities, that if we had him in Warren County we'd elect him sheriff—no mean test of popularity, sir."

Then he began to speak of Mexico, first in the same jocose vein, telling how when they began shooting and cutting throats all around and within sight of the capital, he came to the conclusion that the country didn't suit a gentleman of steady habits, and so he came home. "A Frenchman came to me—smart fellow whom Maximilian sent, He would be so distressed if because the French flag came, the American flag should leave—confound his politeness! But if I had to govern Mexico under the Empire, I'd make that Frenchman Emperor." From this he diverged into more serious talk of Mexican affairs; speaking with all his old fervor and gesticulating freely. For a few sentences his tones gradually grew lower, so that even Wade, sitting at his side, could not hear; then his beard dropped on his breast—a common motion with him when he had finished a train of thought.

The strained attention of the circle was broken, and men began to notice that the room was oppressively warm. Wade rose to get a breath of fresh air, and there was a general movement. Suddenly Gov. Corwin was observed to extend his hands as if groping in the dark, and to say, "Room, a little room; it is very warm." Some one took him by the arm and helped him to rise; and a hurried whisper ran around, "Make room for Gov. Corwin—he is fainting with the heat." One and another aiding him as he tottered to the door. Durbin Ward was now trying to hold him up, but his wounded arm was too weak, and he called to Garfield; another took him on the other side and still another sprang down the staircase in front, and helped to support his weight. The feet of the stricken old statesman dragged helplessly behind him. He was carried in and laid down on a bed in an adjacent chamber. His right hand was lifted up and laid over his breast—it fell helplessly back upon the bed. The case was plain—his whole right side was paralyzed. He had not spoken since he asked in the supper room for fresh air; but as he noted the shocking expression with which those about him saw the right hand fall, he lifted up the other, opened and shut the fingers, as if to say, "I know what has happened; but this, you see, is all right." Some threw up the windows, piled wet towels on his forehead and tore open his collar; others hurried out for doctors; still others piled blankets on the lower part of his person. Observing his wistful look, I bent over and asked him if the pillows were properly adjusted, or if we could do anything more for him till the doctors came. The response was in a whisper, but quite audible, "No, it will do very well." Beyond a simple "Yes" or "No," once or twice, repeated in answer to questions within the next hour, they were his last words. He lay, gasping sometimes as if in suffocation, then again for a few moments breathing almost easily. Presently Col. Bliss, an army surgeon, the first medical man who could be found, hurried in. He asked scarcely a question, lifted the lifeless hand, felt the pulse at wrist and temple, and we read his hopeless verdict in his face as he turned away to order mustard plasters, and whatever other poor devices medical skill could bring to bear against the inevitable. A few moments later Dr. Lincoln entered; then soon afterwards Surgeon-Gen. Barnes. They agreed on what had been done, and on the utter uselessness of all their well meant efforts.

*MOZART'S LETTERS.**

From the Spectator.

We should be disappointed were we to look for the same kind of interest in Mozart's as in Mendelssohn's letters. The circumstances of the two lives were different. Different worlds surrounded the two men. Mendelssohn was happy, fortunate, appreciated. Mozart's sunny temperament gave way under the pressure of sorrow, ill-luck, and ill-treatment. He started in life badly, and he never made up his arrears. From the first he was the slave of a cruel master, and no better master would have pity on him and release him. When at last he was forced to renounce that service, he had only the most precarious support to depend upon, pupils who were capricious, and compositions that were not certain of acceptance. It is a miserable spectacle, the career of a man whom everybody now reverences as one of the greatest of musicians, but who was condemned to failure and poverty all his life, and whose very grave is unknown to this day.

Nevertheless we think Dr. Nohl has done us a service by collecting these letters, and Lady Wallace a service by translating them. Both editor and translator have their faults. Dr. Nohl should have added more explanatory notes, and should not have left the reader to supplement Mozart's letters by one of the lives of Mozart. One of the Doctor's omissions, which we have had occasion to trace, is fatal to the interest of the letter in which it occurs, and many such would seriously injure the collection. Writing of the Archduke Maximilian, Mozart says, "Stupidity peers out of his eyes." Now in the original of this letter the words "Archduke" and "stupidity" are in cipher, a fact we learn from Dr. Nohl himself in the notes to his *Life of Beethoven.* But surely such a fact ought to be stated in its own place; it adds greatly to the value of Mozart's letters: it is apt to be overlooked in notes at the end of another man's life. Lady Wallace's faults are of another order. She is, generally speaking, one of our best translators from the German, but she is apparently less familiar with Italian. In letter 11, "*Sentimmo la messa cantata*" ought to be, "we heard the mass chanted," not "the chanted mass," and "*Campidoglio*" is generally known in English as "Capital." Again, "*jeri l' altro*" is the day before yesterday, not the other day; and "*deutsche Compositor*" *(patois)* stands for a German, not a good, composer. If Lady Wallace means to imply that German and good are synonymous, we must beg to differ from her; but as we presume this mistake is merely a slip of the pen, we pass it with a slight protest. In other parts we find that she has softened down Mozart's phrases almost unnecessarily. One passage, meant to be unusually emphatic, as it is written large in the original manuscript and printed in small capitals by Dr. Nohl, is not marked at all in the English. Mozart tells a story of an infamous case of official brutality at Innsbrück. A noble abused the manager of a theatre in the street, and followed up the abuse by a blow. On the manager returning this he was taken to the House of Correction by a party of soldiers, and given fifty blows with a stick. "At the fifth blow," says Mozart, "his trousers were in pieces"; but this most significant touch, which lights up the whole atrocity of the scene, is left out by Lady Wallace.

Even if this whole story had been left out, there would be enough in these letters to show the chaos existing in Germany before the French Revolution. Mozart began life as concert master to the Archbishop of Salzburg, at the magnificent salary of twelve florins and a half yearly. In order that he might not apply for an increase, his master always proclaimed that he knew nothing, and that he ought to go to a training school to learn music. "The slavery of Salzburg," that "beggarly Court," the Archbishop "playing the great man with me," are significant phrases. But when the Archbishop took Mozart to Vienna in his suite, the slavery was more pronounced, and the beggary (though of course Mozart's salary had been increased) was quite as conspicuous. The Archbishop treated Mozart as a lackey, would not allow him to give a concert for his own benefit, quarrelled with him because he was not ready to leave Vienna at a moment's notice, and at last drove him out of his service with the foulest abuse. "All the edifying things the Archbishop said to me, and the pious epithets this admirable man of God applied to me," writes Mozart, "had such an effect on my bodily frame that the same evening at the opera I was obliged to go home in the middle of the first act in order to lie down, for I was very feverish, trembled in every limb, and staggered in the street like a drunken man." No wonder that the Archbishop considered him "a most self-sufficient young man." Basil Hall makes a captain roar with laughter at the idea of a midshipman having any feelings, and in the eighteenth century a musician who could object to such mild phrases as rogue, rascal, ragamuffin, was evidently unfit to serve a prince. It was no doubt this overstrained delicacy in Mozart that hindered all other princes from taking him into their employment. He had many admirers and few supporters. Gluck and Haydn could afford to praise him without reserve, and a travelling pianist, after watching him play, exclaimed' "Good heavens! how I do labor and overheat myself without getting any applause, while to you, my dear friend, it seems all child's play." But when Salieri applauded openly, it was in order to intrigue in private, and his epitaph on Mozart ran, "The loss of so grand a genius is much to be deplored, but it is fortunate for us that he is dead, for if he had lived longer we really should not have been offered a crust of bread for our compositions." The elector of Bavaria asked, "Who could believe that such great things could be hidden in so small a head?" but would not give the small head a chance of taking off its hat in Munich. Prince Kaunitz said of Mozart that "such people only come into the world once in a hundred years, and must not be driven away from Germany, more particularly when we are so fortunate as actually to enjoy their presence in the capitol." But had Prince Kaunitz already lost his influence with the Emperor, and could he do nothing more than talk in favor of Mozart?

While such was the state of German patrons, the rest of the country was equally in darkness. After trying several Courts without success, Mozart turned his eyes to France or England. "If Germany will not accept me," he says, "then in God's name let France or England be enriched by one more German of talent, to the disgrace of the German nation!" The opera at Vienna was given up to the Italians. "It would be thought an everlasting blot on Germany if we Germans were ever really to begin to think in German and to act like Germans, to speak German, and above all to sing in German!" But in what we are apt to consider the national peculiarities of Germany the eighteenth century eclipsed the nineteenth. In matters of paternal government and tardiness of locomotion even Germany has made great improvements. When Mozart wished to marry against the will of his future mother-in-law, she threatened a resort to the ubiquitous police. "Have the police really the power to enter any house they please?" he asks. We did not know their right had ever been contested. The use of ciphers in Mozart's letters prove that they were liable to be opened at the post-office, and when he writes to announce his quarrel with the Archbishop of Salzburg, he says significantly, "I write this in our native German tongue, *that the whole world may know.*" This clause would hardly have been needed if the post-office was proof against official curiosity. As for the travelling of those days it must have been unendurable. A carriage was detained a quarter of an hour outside a city because the gates were under repair. The conveyance by which Mozart went from Paris to Strasburg took ten days on the road, never changing horses, and setting off sometimes at two in the morning. Owing to the constant stoppages, the expense of living on the road made the diligence dearer than posting, as it was also the custom to treat the conductor at all the inns. The roads were so bad that it was impossible to sleep in night travel; "the carriage jolted our very souls out, and the seats were as hard as stone. From Wasserburg I thought I never could arrive in Munich with whole bones, and during two stages I held on by the straps, suspended in the air, and not venturing to sit down." The truth of these descriptions may be certified by Mozart's English biographer, Mr. Holmes, who states, in his *Ramble among the Musicians of Germany* (1828), that the diligence took six days from Munich to Vienna. Nothing on the way but beer-houses and the most lenten entertainments; in three days they only had one solitary dish of veal, bread and beer being all they could count upon regularly. Mr. Holmes also bears witness to the state of the roads; "such malignant bumps are inflicted on the inferior part of the traveller's person in the many sharp descents and abrupt rises of the roads there, that seated in a diligence, he is incontinently jerked into the arms of a lady opposite." No doubt this was a necessary preparation for writing the life of Mozart.

These letters throw so much light on the external state of the times, that we have neglected their still more valuable additions to our knowledge of the character of their author. In many of them Mozart, both as man and composer, stands clearly before us. His knowledge of his own powers and his trust in them were proper pride with the genius without which they would have been vanity. He could not help despising many of his contemporaries when he saw their inferiority to himself, and how they were preferred to him. Occasionally he showed this contempt by an open sarcasm, which ranked all the more for its truth. The victims of his epigrams might say,—

"Pudet hæc opprobria nobis
Et dici potuisse, et non potuisse refelli;"

—but if they could not refute him they could intrigue against him, and dulness in high places was naturally leagued with its brothers and subordinates. In these letters we see Mozart's spirit gradually giving way. The cheerful nonsense of his earlier letters yields to gloom or bitterness. He was worked and worried to death. With a temperament alive to the slightest changes, and affected keenly by pleasures; a fiery spirit that would have fretted a less puny body to decay, and a genius that was perpetually yoked to the dullest round of musical lessons; enemies that harassed him, and friends that preyed on him; an eternal want of pence, and a critic pen of his own that would not suffer him to write down to the tastes which had pence to bestow,—it would be strange if his familiar letters did not reflect his troubles, and partake of the despondency which more than once beset him. We cannot justly say that we wish they were pleasanter reading, for every line that flowed from Mozart, whether on plain or ruled paper, must be pleasant to read or to hear. But we wish they had been pleasanter to write, and that their subject-matter had not been the cause of so much pain to a man for whom we feel such admiration and such love.

* *The letters of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart* (1769-1791). Translated from the collection of Ludwig Nohl by Lady Wallace, 2 vols. London; Longmans.

IN THE BUSH WITH THE MOUNTED POLICE.

From London Society.

The doctors told me I must die if I remained in England, so I considered that sufficient reason for wishing to go abroad. A sea voyage, I was told, would be necessary, so I fixed on Australia as a country I should take some time to reach by sea; so I went thither.

After a tedious voyage we reached Adelaide, and as I had a friend there, I at once went to him. The voyage had almost entirely restored my health; and as I did not wish to remain idle I determined to seek employment of some kind. I was recommended to try for a place in the mounted police corps, as it was a capital thing for excitement and adventure. I procured the necessary references, and presented myself to the inspector of the corps. Being of the regulation height, and having undergone the necessary medical examination, I was admitted in due form to the corps of rangers, or mounted police.

But a difficulty arose; I was innocent of the art of riding, an art which, in the bush, is of chief importance: I don't mean elegant riding, but the art of sticking in the saddle under any circumstances. So I had to learn this accomplishment; and during my probation I was put on duty at Adelaide as a foot policeman. I, a gentleman of liberal education, a "Peeler!" That is nothing out of the way though; nearly all the members of the corps of rangers are men of classical education and good birth, who can quote their Homer or Virgil as well as they can shoot a kangaroo, or kick a black. Therefore I found myself in very good society. I took three months before I was pronounced a rider; the lessons were no joke. To begin with—bush horses are not the most tractable animals; and my first lesson consisted in trying to ride round the school at full pelt, without a saddle, a heavy cavalry sword in the right hand, and the reins in the left, with a stalwart captain cursing and swearing at my stupidity.

The teachers are most severe and reckless: on one occasion two troops of horsemen were to ride against each other, and turn suddenly; the teacher's orders were, "ride like devils, and never mind a few broken bones—the hospital is handy!" The men rode at each other full tilt, and two unhappy wretches, not being quick enough, were thrown in the collision and trampled on, an arm of one and the leg of the other being broken. However, I was lucky enough to escape any severe hurt, and soon became an expert rider.

The horses of the bush are a native breed, and have a curious vice which the troopers call "bucking." The horse suddenly stops, and rises his back in the centre, invariably throwing the rider, however skilful. Horseflesh is very cheap; a fine animal will not sell for more than thirty pounds, while young horses sell for one pound a leg.

A trooper's horse is his best friend; for very frequently in camping out, the horse will be the only companion of the man. It is astonishing how attached the bush horses grow to their masters, and how fond the latter are of them. A trooper will often rise once or twice during the night to make sure that his horse has not got his legs twisted in the tether. The horses themselves are incredibly strong, but sometimes after a long journey they will suddenly drop down and die: this happened to my own horse. We had been on a terrific journey, when on a sudden I was pitched off, and the animal sank down and died. I fell on my head, and my comrades thought I had been killed, for the shock seemed to have knocked all the breath out of my body.

My bush-life soon commenced in earnest. A notorious sheep-stealer, a black, had been committing depredations again, and I, with a comrade, was dispatched to find him. Looking for a black in the bush is like looking for a needle in a bundle of hay. Englishmen alone would never succeed in finding a runaway native; the services of another black are pressed, and he acts as pioneer to the police, who do the part of actually capturing the thief, which the native alone would be unable to do. The services of one particular native are generally retained: he is a part of the police, in fact. The natives well know that if he is on their track they have no hope of escape. The natives always know the footprints or tracks of each other: they know each other as well by the footmark as we English do each other by the countenance; therefore it can be seen what an invaluable aid this kind of black detective is. Sheep-stealers always leave tracks, so they may always be found.

On the occasion of my first camping out we had several hundred miles of stiff country to traverse. The low brushwood of timber which abounds in Australia makes travelling across the country no light work. We took two or three black servants with us to make our fires, etc. It was a splendid journey, as regards the scenery, but there are always plenty of drawbacks in the bush. The poisonous snakes, which are very numerous all over the country, are the great terror of all travellers; their bite is almost instantly fatal. The natives, with all their bushcraft, know no cure; prevention, therefore, is all the traveller can do. Leather boots of the strongest description are worn, which reach up as far as the hips; no snake's bite can penetrate these. The snakes, too, are far more frightened at men than is generally imagined, nor will they attack a man unless first provoked.

Camping out at night, then, saving the snakes, was glorious work. The sky of Australia is blue all the year round, and at night the sight of the wonderful expanse of blue studded with stars, is one never to be forgotten. A fire is kept up all night long, to scare away animals; there are no animals of prey to be in fear of, however.

On a winter's night, this camping in the bush is not quite so pleasant, the cold is so intense. The rangers usually prefer in the winter to push on to some sheep farmer's, where there is always a roaring fire, and genuine hospitality to greet them. When the place is approached where the thief is supposed to be the black detective is sent out to see if he is really there. The blacks live in small encampments, each family having a mud hut, so each hut has to be searched. When the thief is found, the detective whistles, and the troopers rush into the encampment and seize him. This is no easy matter. A black is as slippery as an eel; the only way to be sure of him is to take him by the hair of his head; from any other grasp he will wriggle away like "greased lightning through a gooseberry bush."

The punishment for thieves is usually flogging, performed by a stalwart ranger. It takes a great deal to really hurt a black, he is so tough. I have seen a black knocked down twelve times in succession and thoroughly kicked as well, without his seeming in the least degree disconcerted.

The whites are compelled to be very severe with the natives, for, being surrounded by immense numbers of them, if they were once to find that the white man was in the least afraid of them the result would be far from pleasant. Therefore the white, on all occasions, maintains his supremacy. When the natives do rise against the whites the result is very dreadful. While I was at Adelaide a ranger met his death at the hands of a black. The ranger had been sent to arrest the man, but met with a different reception from that which he had expected, for the black rushed at him with an axe, and clove his skull with one blow.

As a race, the blacks are fast dying out; of several tribes, which so short a time ago as ten years were well known, not a single individual remains. As civilization increases and cities spring up, the blacks are driven further up country, where they have more difficulty in obtaining subsistence; they die if kept long in a city. There is at Adelaide, at the present time, a venerable black, who is about ninety years old, a great age for one of his race, and who is the last representative of his tribe. The natives are not particularly prepossessing in appearance as a rule, but there are some very good-looking men amongst them; they all, however, have remarkably good teeth. They are very cunning and crafty, and will betray their dearest friends without any compunction. They have a great passion for intoxicating drinks, though it is punishable by law to give them any drink of a spirituous nature. Polygamy is common with them. They seem to show very small signs of intellect except in the way they hunt and procure their food. One of their methods is very ingenious. A small animal, very common in Australia, is the wallaby, a sort of cony. This creature is so active, that to catch it would seem almost an impossibility. The natives tie some feathers plucked from an eagle to the end of a long lithe piece of cane. They approach where the wallaby usually may be found, and wave the cane and feathers about in the air. The wallaby, seeing the shadow, and trembling for his life, is so alarmed that the huntsmen easily spear him. In this way they will take nearly as many animals in a day as we shoot pheasants in a battue.

The black, like a dog, travels by scent, if he cannot see a track, and it must be very indistinct to baffle his perception. He will discover by scent whether a comrade has been in the same place before him. It is this quality that makes him so valuable to the Australian police. I may safely say that without the aid of the black detectives very little would ever have been done in the way of detection. As a rule, the black confines his misdoing to stealing, chiefly cattle; murder by him is rare; even among themselves the natives do not often commit this crime. It used formerly to be the custom to hang the culprits for every crime, but that is now abolished. Many years ago men travelling up-country used to provide themselves with what was a kind of "license to shoot blacks," and "killing was no murder." The sport-loving traveller would frequently indulge in what we should call a decidedly sensational pastime, which he called "black-bird shooting." But this sort of thing is all of the past now.

The life of a trooper in this part of Australia is extremely dull and unvarying. After a few months he has read all the books within a few hundred miles; found out that the tobacco is vile, and the spirits very questionable; and that his comrades—very good fellows in their way—are very dull and uninteresting. He has ceased to be interested in the country, and begins to consider his duties a bore, and the blacks a set of priggish, lazy rascals. He is not so delighted with bush life as he was at first, for he has lost himself once or twice, and discovered that there are such things as snakes to disturb one's peace of mind. At this stage, he usually becomes disgusted with his monotonous life, and leaves the force to take to sheep-farming. Now this last employment is very profitable, while the highest wages of a trooper do not exceed ten pounds a month. The chief qualification for a sheep-farmer seems to be that he can lie on his back and smoke a pipe, swear a little and drink a great deal. The farmer or owner usually employs an overseer at a high salary, who entirely manages the stock and secures the returns. On this man the whole business devolves, and this is by no means light. Each season of the year has its separate duties: there is the lambing in the spring-time, and it is no easy matter to attend to the wants of fifteen or twenty thousand sheep, which is about the usual number of stock. The shearing is also an important business, and takes a great many weeks of hard work. One efficient shearer will shear as many as a hundred and sixty sheep in twelve hours. The shearers are generally strong Irish or Welsh men. Nothing seems so profitable in Australia as sheep-farming: besides numbers of private individuals, there are now several companies. These sell shares in a sheep run at £2,000 each, and the profits triple themselves in two years, so that any one with the necessary money may soon make a fortune; and the investment is perfectly safe, as the returns are independent of all risks and contingencies, by which the private farmer is often a loser. The farmers themselves are generally a lazy set of men, who prefer smoking a pipe and reading novels (which are sent out by the thousand) to tramping or riding a number of miles on a frosty morning to look after the stock.

The government sells land and sheep together at a pound a sheep; therefore, a £15,000 run means a tract of country and fifteen thousand sheep.

I often stayed with many of these farmers, and very hospitable I always found them. With one especially, near my station, I became very familiar, and used frequently to go out hunting with him.

Kangaroos are the animals which are hunted (after the manner of foxes) in Australia. We had a kangaroo club at our station. The hunt is very exciting: the kangaroo clears an immense distance at one leap, so that the horses have hard work to keep up with it. On one occasion my farmer friend and I were out hunting wild cattle, and a wild ox charged and tossed my friend, who descended some few feet off. I thought he was killed, and finding him motionless and white I began to be alarmed. A doctor in Australia is a rare being; you may never expect to find one closer at hand than some three or four hundred miles. Therefore, in time, the bushman becomes his own doctor, and gets a knowledge of bone-setting, etc. In the present case I had to carry the wounded man to a sheep-farmer, who had some reputation as a surgeon, and who soon set matters right. But the feeling of being alone in the bush with a dead or wounded comrade is very strange.

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